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'History of the Province of Gohud'

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About this record

A published, printed history of the Province of Gohud [Gohad] written on or after 1843, which is the last date to appear in the history.

The history, although published, gives no details of its author or information on when or where it was published.

There are a small number of alterations that have been made in ink to the text, for which the author is unknown but is likely to have been Lewis Pelly.

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HISTORY

OF THE

PROVINCE OF GOHUD.

THE Province of "Gohud," comprising fifty-six muhals, and yielding an annual revenue of sixy-six lakhs of rupees, formed the territory ruled over from very ancient times by a family of Jāt Princes, bearing the high title of Maha Ranas. Maha Rana Bhogwunt Singh, G.C.S.I., the present ruling Prince of Dholepore, is the fifty-first in descent from the original founder of this long line of princes, Maha Rana Birram Pal. From its great extent and the number of strong fortresses, such as "Gwalior," "Gohud," "Lohar," and others, situated within its limits, the principality of Gohud was one of the most powerful and influential of the Hindoo States of Northern Hindostan. About 1723 A.D., the Mahrattas commenced extending their conquests from the Deccan to Central India. Ranojee Scindiah, who commenced life as the menial servant of the Peshwah Balojee Vishunāth, becoming a great favourite with his master, was raised to offices of high trust in the Mahratta Government, and was, about the year 1765, sent, with a considerable army, to invade the territories of the Jāt and Rajpoot Princes

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of Hindostan. In 1767, this Ranojee Scindiah invaded the territory of Gohud, and laid siege to the celebrated Fort of Gwalior. Failing, after a long delay, to take the fort, Scindiah made terms with the ruling chief, Maha Rana Chutter Puth, and agreed to withdraw his army and return to the Deccan, on the payment of three lakhs of rupees. This sum, however, did not secure immunity from the rapacity of the Mahrattas for any lengthened period, for in 1777, Scindiah, for the second time, entered the Gohud territory with his forces, and after a severe struggle got possession of the important forts belonging to the Maha Rana of Gwalior and Lohar. About this time the increasing power and encroachments of the Mahrattas caused serious alarm to the British Government in Calcutta, which was increased by an intimation from Scindiah, that he was meditating an advance with his armies into Bengal to levy from the British the "chouth" which he asserted was due by them to the Mahrattas for the provinces of Bengal and Behar. At this conjuncture the Governor-General, Warren Hastings, with his Council, deemed it expedient, with the view of opposing a barrier to the further progress of the Mahrattas, to form a league for mutual defence with the Jāt and Rajpoot States of Hindostan. With this view the Governor-General made overtures to the most influential and powerful among the chiefs, the Maha Rana of Gohud. Maha Rana Chutter Puth entered with great cordiality into the views of the Governor-General, and in consequence the following treaty of mutual defence and alliance was concluded between the parties on the 2d December 1779.

Treaty between the Company and Maha Rajah Luckendar Behauder, Rana of Gohud.

Articles of Agreement made and concluded at Fort-William, in Bengal, between the Honourable the Governor-General and Council for the affairs of the Honourable

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English East India Company, on behalf of the said Company on one part; and Maha Rajah Luckendar Behauder, Rana of Gohud, for himself and his successors, on the other part, viz.:—

Article 1.

Perpetual friendship shall take place between the English Company and Maha Rajah Luckendar Behauder, and their successors; and an alliance be established between them for the prosecution of the objects hereinafter mentioned.

Article 2.

Whenever a war shall actually take place between the contracting parties and the Mahrattas, if Maha Rajah Luckendar Behauder shall require the assistance of an English force from the Company for the defence of his country, or for the acquisition of territory, such a force, proportional to the exigency of the service, shall be immediately sent, on his requisition, made in writing, to the commanding officer of the nearest station of the Company's troops; shall remain with him as long as he shall require it; and return when he shall dismiss it. The expenses thereof shall be defrayed by the Maha Rajah, at the fixed monthly rate of twenty thousand Muchlidar rupees, of the currency of Benares, or any other species of rupees of the same intrinsic amount, for each battalion of Sepoys on its present establishment, with its proportion of artillery. The payment to commence on the day when the said force shall pass the borders of the Company's dominions, or the dominions of the Nabob of Oude, and cease on the period stipulated for its return to either; four coss being allowed for each day's march.

Article 3.

This force shall be employed for the defence of the Maha Rajah's dominions against all foreign or domestic enemies, or for the enlargement of his dominions, by conquest from the Mahrattas.

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Article 4.

Whatever countries shall be acquired from the Mahrattas in pursuance of this Treaty, by the troops of the Company, or of the Maha Rajah, separately or in conjunction, whether by war or treaty, *except the fifty-six* (56) *mahals which constitute the Maha Rajah's jaghire,* and which are not now in possession of the Mahrattas, shall be shared in the following proportions, viz.:—nine annas to the Company, and seven annas to the Maha Rajah. The mean amount of the gross revenue of the whole shall be ascertained by aumeens chosen by each party, or the collections made in ten preceding years; and the amount of the Company's share, as determined by the said aumeens, after deducting the charges of collection, which are customary in such countries, shall be fixed, paid by the Maha Rajah, as a perpetual tribute to the Company; *and the lands and forts shall be ceded to the Maha Rajah.*

Article 5.

In case it shall be judged advisable to employ the combined forces of the Company and the Maha Rajah in any hostile operations against the Mahrattas, beyond the borders of the Maha Rajah's dominions, on requisition made to him, in writing, from this Government, he shall furnish ten thousand horse for such service; and each party shall bear his own separate expense; and if, upon the return of the English forces towards their own borders, the Maha Rajah shall have occasion for their service, and shall make a requisition to retain them from the instant of such requisition, he shall pay their charge in the same manner as stipulated in the second article; but it shall not be required of the Maha Rajah, nor be in the power of this Government, to detach or employ his troops beyond the farthest borders of Eogein and Indoo, without his special consent.

Article 6.

Whenever the English forces are employed for the defence of the Maha Rajah's country, or for the acquisition of

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territory, the service to be performed shall be prescribed by himself; but the mode of executing it shall be left to the direction of the officer commanding the English troops.

Article 7.

Whenever the combined troops of the Company and the Maha Rajah shall be employed in any remote operations, the commanding officer of the English forces shall consult the Rajah upon all services to be performed; but the ultimate decision, in case of difference of opinion, and the mode of conducting such services, shall be left entirely to the commanding officer of the English forces, with a reservation of the Maha Rajah's complete authority over his own troops.

Article 8.

Whenever peace shall be concluded between the Company and the Mahratta State, the Maha Rajah shall be included as a party in the Treaty which shall be made for that purpose; *and his present possessions, together with the Fort of Gwalior, which of old belonged to the family of the Maha Rajah, if it shall then be in his possession, and such countries* as he shall have acquired in the course of the war, and which it shall then be stipulated to leave in his hands, shall be guaranteed to him by such Treaty.

Article 9.

No English factory shall be established in the dominions of the Maha Rajah. No persons of any denomination shall be sent into his dominions on the part of the English Company, or with the licence of the Governor-General and Council, without his previous consent, neither shall his ryots be pressed for any military service, nor any authority exercised over them but his own.

Signed, sealed, and concluded at Fort-William, this second day of December, in the year of our Lord 1779.

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In accordance with the stipulation contained in this Treaty, the Governor-General in Council despatched a British force under Major Popham into the territory of Gohud, to co-operate with the Maha Rana's army against the Mahrattas, and expel them from the state. The combined armies lost no time in attacking the main body of the Mahrattas, under Scindiah, which they signally defeated and dispersed, and then took by storm the strong Fort of Lohar. From thence the combined army advanced to lay siege to Gwalior, which, after an investment of two months, was taken by escalade on the 4th August 1780, and, under the terms of the Treaty, made over to the Maha Rana, by whose troops it was immediately garrisoned. Scindiah being much exasperated by the loss of these two important fortresses, determined to attempt to recover them. In order to frustrate his designs, upon 1st November 1780, the Governor-General in Council directed Major Camac to proceed with the troops under his command, without loss of time, into the dominions of the Rana of Gohud, there to reinforce the troops, then under the command of Captain Popham, and to proceed to invade the Mahratta districts, which lay beyond the district of Gohud, in order to draw the attention of Scindiah from a British force then employed, under Colonel Goddard, in the reduction of Bassein. In issuing this command to Major Camac, the following instructions were given to that officer by the Government:— "The Rana of Gohud having, by virtue of a Treaty concluded between him and the British Government, required the aid of a military force on the part of this Government for the defence of his country against the Mahrattas, who had invaded it, Captain Popham was appointed to this service, and to this you now succeed. We, therefore, direct that you comply with such requisitions as shall be made to you by the Rana for this, and for such other conditions as he is entitled to demand by the Treaty, as shall be practicable with the force under your command. Whenever the Rana shall have no further service for the detachment,

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he shall dismiss it in the manner prescribed by the Treaty. As the first design of this Government, in the alliance formed with the Rana of Gohud, was to distress the Mahratta State by a diminution of their power, revenues, and influence, and by uniting with other powers in enmity with them, to divert and weaken their operations; and as the Mahratta dominions, which lie contiguous to Gohud, appertains to Mahdajee Scindiah and Ticcajee Holkar, the two principal rulers of the Mahratta State, and the leaders of the army employed to oppose Colonel Goddard, we authorise and instruct you, in case you should deem it practicable and expedient to carry the war immediately into that quarter, requiring from the Rana the proportion of cavalry stipulated by the Treaty to be furnished by him for such service, or in case of his inability, whether from the season of the year, or from whatever other cause, to fulfil this condition in its complete extent, to require and accept from him such other aid in furnishing provisions and forming magazines of grain, and other means of subsistence and communication, as you shall judge equivalent to it."

Major Camac, in pursuance of these orders, proceeded into the Gohud dominions with the force under his command; but from the neglect of the Government to supply the necessary funds for the pay of his detachment, he appears to have fallen, soon after his march, into considerable difficulty. On the 1st November 1780, Major Camac reported to the Governor-General the desperate state of the force under his command, for the want of funds, as his men were then three months in arrears; and he stated "that under his desperate circumstances he had no resource but in the Rana of Gohud, to whom he wrote in the most pressing terms, and who had sent him rus. 12,000, for his immediate necessities."

It is clear from the statements made by Major Camac that it was solely to the material assistance given him by the Rana of Gohud, that the force was enabled to maintain its position.

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At this time the Governor-General in Council having received intelligence of an intended coalition between Hyder Ali and the Mahratta Powers, including Scindiah, for an attack on Bombay, considered it necessary to engage more actively against Scindiah than was possible for the small force under Major Camac, and thus to force Scindiah to withdraw his army from Guzerat for the defence of his own territory. The Governor-General therefore directed a second British force, under Colonel Muir, on the 25th April 1781, to proceed from Futteyghur and to obtain possession of Scindiah's capital, * "Oojein," and its dependencies, and for this purpose Colonel Muir was instructed to require from "the Rana of Gohud, such a body of the Rana's troops, under the terms of the Treaty with the British Government, as he might think requisite, and the Rana's presence with them." "We think it necessary," it was added, "to recommend you, in the strongest manner, to keep your force entire, making no detachments from it, but such as are absolutely necessary and unavoidable; and in order to give effect to this instruction, and to remove the necessity of your establishing garrisons for the places which may surrender to our arms or require our protection, we direct and empower you to assign them to the charge or the absolute possession of the neighbouring Zeminders, as are best qualified to receive them, either by natural right as wrested from them by the Mahrattas, or by situation, except only such as lie contiguous to the dominions of the Rana of Gohud, and appertain to him in virtue of the Treaty." Shortly after the advance of this force into the territories then held by the Mahrattas, the Governor-General in Council, alarmed by the reverses the Company's forces had recently met with in the "Carnatic," and the prospect of French troops landing in India to aid Hyder Ali against the British, deemed it very desirable to alter his previous policy of coercing Scindiah, and determined, on the contrary, by all means to conciliate that chief, and through his means to

* Ben. Govt. Cons. 27th April 1781.

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make peace with the Mahratta nation, and so detach them from this coalition against the British Government. It is to this sudden change of policy and views we are to look for the causes which led the Governor-General to alter his conduct towards the Rana of Gohud, and which resulted in the ruin of our ally and the absorption of his dominions by Scindiah. The Governor-General, it must be here noticed, had at this time proceeded to Benares, exercising the full powers of the Government in his own person, in order to settle his differences with Cheyt Singh, the Rajah of that province. Warren Hastings, thus relieved from the control of his Council, was able to carry out arbitrarily his own views without any remonstrances on the part of his colleagues in the Government. The Governor-General, in forming the design of conciliating Scindiah, had acted on the knowledge that Scindiah's great aim and desire was to establish his power on the ruins of the Mogul Empire. To enable him to do so, however, it was first necessary that the Rana of Gohud should be destroyed, and all his dominions lying between Gwalior and the Jumna River, seized by Scindiah.* "Without accomplishing these preliminary objects, Scindiah would have been unable to avail himself of the favourable conjuncture presented to his ambition by the then disturbed state of the Mogul Empire. To these designs, however, the existing Treaty of the 2d December 1779, with the Rana of Gohud and the British Government, proved a bar, as under its terms the Rana was guaranteed in his ancestral possessions together with the Fortress of Gwalior."

Under these circumstances, in order to meet Scindiah's views, it became an object with the Governor-General, if possible, to get rid of these stipulations solemnly binding the British Government to protect the Rana. The policy followed by Warren Hastings for that end is to be explained by a reference to the instructions addressed by him to the

* Ben. Govt. Progs., 20th July 1787. Colonel Kirkpatrick to Lord Cornwallis.

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Government of Bombay, dated 26th December 1781, announcing his change of policy respecting the Mahratta Powers, and in which he directs the Governor in Council of that Presidency to take immediate measures for conciliating the Mahratta Government at Poonah, and concluding a peace with that Power. In that despatch the Governor-General intimated his determination, in order to carry out his new policy "to cede all that can be yielded for peace."

It appears, however, that two obstacles stood in the way of conciliating the Mahrattas, first, certain guarantees made by the British Government to Rāghŏba Bhoonsla; and second, a Treaty which existed between the British Government and "Futtey Singh" Guicowár, guaranteeing him against the Mahrattas. With respect to these obstacles to carrying out his policy, the Governor-General observed that "to deliver up Rāghŏba, * or annul our Treaty with Futtey Singh, were conditions that cannot be granted, from the public dishonour which such acts would stamp on our national character. An assent to have such dishonour connected with the reputation of English Councils would be weakness, and that weakness would occasion new and unanswerable demands." "But," continued the Governor-General in Council, "it is the address of negotiations and the wisdom of states to contrive, in difficulties such as these, a remedy that may obviate the embarrassment, and yet preserve every necessary dignity of proceeding." In respect of Rāghŏba, there were grounds for suspecting that he was in separate negotiation with the Mahrattas at Poonah, "and he might," the Governor-General suggested, "not only be permitted, but encouraged, in his wishes to join the Mahrattas, and in that event the obstacle removes itself."

In respect of Futtey Singh, the Governor-General goes on to suggest—"The conduct of Futtey Singh must be singularly meritorious as a native, if occasion do not occur

* Ben. Govt. Cons. Governor-General in Council to Government of Bombay, 26th Dec. 1781.

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where the annulling of the Treaty would not be his own act and deed. In a word, where the wishes of the Government correspond forcibly with the public necessity, difficulties such as these are made to vanish."

It is but too apparent that this tortuous policy recommended by the Governor-General to the Government of Bombay, was adopted by himself in respect to the Maha Rana of Gohud. The Treaty with that Prince was as great an obstacle to making peace with Scindiah as that of Futtey Singh was to concluding peace with the other Mahratta Powers at Poona. From the existing public records of that time, it is clear that efforts were most assiduously made to get up charges against the Rana, which might lead to the cancelling of the Treaty, and at the same time make it appear that "its annulling was his own act and deed." It must here be remembered that the instructions of the Governor-General in Council, directing Colonel Muir, then at Futteyghur, to proceed with a force towards "Oojein," and to call upon the Rana of Gohud to join him, were dated the 21st April 1781,* and were not dispatched before the 27th of April, as that is the date of the consultations when the despatch was finally approved by the Council. In those early days, when the mails were carried by foot-runners, when there were no roads, and no bridges over water courses, far less larger rivers, and the communications were most uncertain between distant parts of the country, the despatch could not have reached Futteyghur, a distance of 600 miles, under three weeks at least, or about the 15th of May at earliest. Colonel Muir reported to the Commander-in-Chief that he had despatched "that morning, agreeably to his instructions, a letter to the Rana of Gohud," in which he demanded "a speedy performance of certain engagements, entered into by the Rana with our Government, and to which I have requested his immediate and direct answer."

This letter bears no date, but is recorded in the Govern-

* Ben. Govt. Cons., 27th April 1781.

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ment consultations of the 14th June, and calculating that the despatch could not have reached Calcutta from Futteyghur in less than three weeks, as it was the rainy season, it may be presumed that the despatch was forwarded to the Rana about the 17th or 18th May from Futteyghur, and would have occupied a week at least in reaching Gohud, across the river Jumna, and probably the Chumbul. The harsh and peremptory tone of Colonel Muir's despatch to a prince of the position and rank of the Rana is very striking, considering it was his first application, more especially when it is borne in mind that the Rana had, as reported by Colonel Camac, rendered already timely and efficient aid to the troops under his command in money and supplies, by which alone they had been able to keep the field. From a despatch addressed by Colonel Muir to the Governor-General, dated 17th June 1781, it appears that that officer had, before that date, been joined by two battalions of the Rana's infantry, and had received from him 200 bullock loads of grain for the supply of his troops. Now, considering the great difficulties which exist in moving troops and supplies during the rains in a country destitute of roads and bridges, as all the country of Gohud was at that time, it is only a matter of surprise, and a proof of his alacrity and regard to Treaty obligations, that the Rana could in so short a time as can only have elapsed since the requisition reached him, have sent his troops and supplies into the British camp, as is proved by this despatch he had done.

Nevertheless, in the same despatch, the commanding-officer, Colonel Muir, transmitted to the Governor-General a copy of a memorial or protest which he had deemed it necessary to address to that "misguided Chief, the Rana of Gohud." "His conduct, *your orders*, and the necessities of my charge have at length rendered this measure unavoidable," wrote Colonel Muir. "He continues to give me general assurance of his intentions to join the army; but his preparations for that end are too languid and dilatory for me to form any sanguine

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expectations from them." "But to leave this misguided Chief," continued Colonel Muir, "no just cause of crimination, and to convince him in the most pointed manner of the delicacy and reluctance with which I proceed in this critical occasion, I directed the protest to be enclosed in a letter to the British agent with the Rana of Gohud, with directions to present it to that Prince, if the Rana refused to join, within ten days, Colonel Muir's camp, with such force and supplies of provision as he can possibly by that period collect for the service."

On referring to this protest itself, it is to be remarked that it is most carefully worded in strict accordance with the Governor-General's policy, as laid down in his despatch* to the Government of Bombay, so as to lead to the impression that the British Government was most anxious to adhere to the terms of the Treaty with the Rana of Gohud, and to make it appear to the Princes of Hindostan that any infraction of the Treaty could not in any wise be imputed to the Governor-General in Council, but to the many acts of negligence and insincerity on the part of the Maha Rana himself, such as corresponding with the Mahrattas without communication with the English officers. And it is important to remark that while Colonel Muir, in his despatch of 17th June 1781, already quoted, forwarded the copy of this protest to the Governor-General for the information of the Government, thereby leading to the impression that the protest emanated directly from himself and was unknown to the Government, in his letter to the agent with the Rana of Gohud, forwarding the same protest, Colonel Muir states *that it was drawn up* "agreeable to the orders of the Governor-General in Council." Hence, the otherwise very remarkable coincidence of the terms of this protest with the avowed policy of the Governor-General, "*that the acts or omissions of a native ally could always be made the occasion of annulling a treaty, and to appear at the same time as his own act and deed.*" In this case, however, the attempt failed, for Colonel Muir re-

* Governor-General to Govt. of Bombay, 26th Dec. 1781.

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ported to the Governor-General that the protest was not required to be presented to the Maha Rana, as the Prince had himself joined Colonel Muir with two other battalions of infantry, making in all four battalions and 1200 cavalry, and Colonel Muir represented that "the presence of the Rana in person with the army was of the most material consequence in relation to the powers, who must thereby be convinced that Government had fulfilled their engagements to him." It will, however, be shown that although no pretext for annulling the Treaty could be found in any alleged negligence of the Rana in fulfilling his stipulations, another ground was discovered for setting it aside, which must have emanated from the suggestion of Warren Hastings himself. In the meantime it is necessary here to notice that on the 13th of August 1781, the Governor-General, then at Chunar, directed Colonel Muir to make secret overtures to Scindiah for peace, and that Scindiah himself, in consequence of a communication made to him by the Rana of Gohud, acting under the authority of Colonel Muir, had immediately expressed a desire for a reconciliation with the British. The letter addressed by Colonel Muir, dated 27th August, to the Rana of Gohud, authorising him to make overtures to Scindiah is as follows*:—"You may afford every degree of assistance to Chimnajee (Scindiah's agent) that in the manner I have stipulated 18† days on the subject of peace. I am hopeful that it will certainly take place in that period according to what I have written. Assure him also that in that space of 18 days I will make no attack nor commit no kind of hostilities, on condition that none are committed by the opposite party. You must also obtain some assurance on this head from them; and if the Pattele (Scindiah) pleases, let writings be mutually given on the subject. Also in this space no troops will march across the Jumna." The overtures thus made to Scindiah by the British through the Rana having been thus favourably received by Scindiah, and

*Ben. Govt. Cons., 18th Feb. 1782, Andrews to Governor-General, 29th Jan. 1782.
† Sic in Original.

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his willingness to enter into a peace being reported to the Governor-General, Warren Hastings authorised Colonel Muir, in a letter dated 29th August 1781, to conclude a Treaty with Scindiah for an alliance of mutual defence and neutrality, on the condition of the British restoring to Scindiah all that they had acquired during the war, except the fortress of Gwalior and fort and territory of Lohar. "We will yield," wrote the Governor-General, "what is ours, and what we can in honour grant, but we will never suffer our treaties to be infringed, nor our faith to be violated." "*Include the Rana of Gohud in the Peace.*"

This last instruction of the Governor-General to Colonel Muir sufficiently proves that up to that date no charges of duplicity and of failure to act up to the terms of the Treaty of 1779 had been established against the Rana of Gohud, which could in any way, in the Governor-General's opinion, justify him in openly, at that time, setting aside the Treaty of alliance with that Prince. After the despatch of these instructions to Colonel Muir, the Governor-General received from him formal intimation of Scindiah's having himself made overtures for peace with the British. Upon the 10th September 1781 the Governor-General intimated to Colonel Muir the great satisfaction he had derived from the intelligence of Scindiah's having anticipated the wishes of the British Government, by himself making overtures for peace. Knowing what was Scindiah's ultimate object in thus desiring peace—in order to be free to carry out his ambitious designs against the Mogul Empire—the Governor-General instructed Colonel Muir to give Scindiah to understand that as the object of the British Government in sending a force into his country to divert Scindiah from carrying on operations on the other side of India, had been accomplished, the troops might at once be withdrawn into British dominions. Colonel Muir was further desired to give Scindiah to know that as "we are under no engagements to protect the present dominions of the King of Delhi, nor those of others, if peace

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is settled betwixt Maldajee Scindiah and us; *I do not desire that he should be restrained in carrying into execution any plans he may have formed against them.* It will be sufficient for us, and Scindiah ought to be satisfied with the latitude implied in it, if he is only restricted from making encroachments on our territories *and those of the Rana of Gohud.* He must in direct terms engage that he will never invade or in any respect molest them." From the instructions conveyed in this letter, also to Colonel Muir, and which were drawn up long subsequent to the receipt by the Governor-General of Colonel Muir's letter of the 14th June, forwarding copy of his protest addressed to the Rana, and which included a charge of "corresponding with the Mahrattas without communication with the English," it is clearly proved that these charges, in the Governor-General's opinion, were not established, and that nothing had occurred in the Rana's conduct to justify the abrogation of the Treaty of alliance with him, or to abandon him to the Mahrattas, his hereditary enemies.

In pursuance of his instructions, Colonel Muir concluded, on the 13th October 1781, a Treaty with Scindiah, the 4th article of which stipulated "that whatever country of the Maha Rajah's shall have been taken possession of by the Company on this side the Jumna, Colonel Muir shall restore; and the Maha Rajah shall agree not to molest or disturb the country of Luckendar Rana Chutter Singh, Buhadhur Duleer Jung, nor the Fort of Gwalior, which is at present in his possession, so long as the Rana Sahib observes his Treaty with the English; nor the country of Myhut Ram Singh Buhadhur, which is at present in the possession of the Rana."

By this article the good faith of the British Government to maintain the faith of the Treaties and support their allies was ostensibly maintained, but, in fact, the stipulation afforded no real security to the Rana for the maintenance of his rights and interests as an ally of the British. Under the administration of an unscrupulous Governor-General, who had formally declared that the "conduct of a Prince

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must be singularly meritorious as a native ally, if occasion do not occur when the annulling of the Treaty would not be his own act and deed." It has been already remarked that the Governor-General, in directing Colonel Muir to include the Rana in the Treaty, had clearly admitted that the charges brought against the Rana up to the date of the Treaty were not substantiated. "But if all the charges which have been pretended against the Rana had been well founded and proved to be true—as had been alleged by Warren Hastings in justification of his conduct—the subject matter of these accusations, and the proofs by which they were to be supported, were known to Colonel Muir before the conclusion of the Treaty he entered into with Mahdajee Scindiah, and therefore, whatever suspicions may have been entertained against the said Rana, previous to the said Treaty, from the time he was so provided for and included in the said Treaty, he was fully and justly entitled to the security stipulated for him by the Company, and had a right to demand and receive the protection of the British Government."

As, however, with the view of conciliating Scindiah, it was necessary to abandon the Rana of Gohud to his will, it became requisite for the Governor-General to seek for fresh occasion against the Rana, which could be formed into a pretext for setting aside, as he could not annul, the Treaty of 1779 with that Prince. In pursuance of these views Colonel Muir, on 20th October 1781, intimated to the Governor-General that he had detected the Rana of Gohud in attempting to conclude a separate negotiation with Mahdajee Scindiah for himself, before any overtures of peace had been received by the British Government from that chief. The Colonel expressed his intention of positively refusing to conclude the Treaty with Scindiah unless that chief furnished him with attested copies of the proposed Treaty between him and the Rana. Accordingly Scindiah made over an attested copy of the alleged proposed Treaty between himself and the Rana to

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Colonel Muir, who forwarded it to the Governor-Gene al. It is clear, however, that the discovery of this paper was not, in the opinion of Warren Hastings,* of a nature which would justify any alteration in the fourth article of the Treaty with Scindiah, stipulating for the safety of the Rana of Gohud, as that article remained intact. The accusation, however, was enough for the Governor-General to act upon in his determination to abandon the Rana. Accordingly, in his instructions to Mr Anderson, who was nominated on the 4th November 1781, to be Agent at the Court of Scindiah, in order to conclude the negotiations connected with the Treaty, and see its stipulations carried out, the Governor-General expressed his determination to desert the Rana of Gohud, stating, "You will, of course, be attentive to any engagements subsisting between us and other powers, in settling the terms of peace and alliance with the Mahrattas; I except from this the Rana of Gohud. Leave him to settle his own affairs with the Mahrattas." Mr Anderson, it appears, was a protegé of Warren Hastings, whose undue elevation of his friend to offices of high trust and emolument had formed the subject of grave remonstrance on the part of the Governor-General's colleagues in the Supreme Council. Devoted as Mr Anderson must therefore have been to his superior, no better person could have been selected for carrying out the policy of the Governor-General in respect to the Rana of Gohud, and endeavouring to establish the charges against that Prince. Accordingly Mr Anderson, on arriving in Scindiah's camp, appears very assiduously to have sought for grounds to justify the execution of that part of his instructions which involved the abandonment of the Rana. For that purpose he applied to the Mahrattas for proof of the charge brought against the Rana by Scindiah, that he had endeavoured to conclude with him a separate Treaty of offence and defence against the British. It might have been supposed that the Mahrattas would gladly have supplied

* See Letter 29th Dec. 1781, Governor-General to Court of Directors.

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such proof had it been in their power to do so, for the interest of Scindiah, and his determined object was to destroy the Rana and possess himself of the territory of Gohud. Mr Anderson, however, was obliged to intimate to the Governor-General that "*no satisfactory* proof of the Rana's defection from the engagements he had entered into with the Company was to be obtained." On the contrary, it appeared that it was Scindiah himself who had sent a separate agreement to the Rana, in the hope of his attaching his signature to it, in order that he might use it as a proof of the Rana's perfidy, but that the Rana had refused to attach his name thereto. Mr Anderson represented at the same time that the Rana had very fairly urged that "his receiving such an engagement from Scindiah was no fault of his, or any sufficient cause for the British Government to abandon him, as he had never given any engagement in return to Scindiah, or had done more than Colonel Muir had authorised him to do in his communication of the 27th August 1781," already quoted. Mr Anderson also called the Governor-General's notice to the fact that all these charges, and the proofs, documentary and otherwise, by which they were attempted to be supported, were each and all of them known to the commanding-officer of the British forces, Colonel Muir, and to the Governor-General, before the conclusion of the Treaty with Mahdajee Scindiah, and were virtually condoned, even had they been established, which they were not, by the stipulation formally entered into that Treaty, by the Governor-General's own orders, in favour of the Rana. They, therefore, could form no ground for depriving the Rana of the security against his hereditary enemy therein stipulated. Mr Anderson at the same time argued that "in a political light the Rana's territories were a strong barrier to ours, and it seems not our interest that he be entirely destroyed;" and he therefore urged the propriety of maintaining the stipulations of the Treaty. The Governor-General, however, was not to be moved by these considerations of justice or

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policy, and the Agent was forced to conform to his instructions, and inform the Rana, who had claimed British aid under the terms of the Treaty of 1779, that his instructions were not to interfere between him and Scindiah, but to leave them to arrange matters between themselves. Scindiah was not long in setting aside the 4th article of the Treaty, finding that it was not the intention of the Governor-General to enforce its provisions, and in February 1782 he laid siege to the Rana's Fort of Chenuk, with guns he had sent for from Bilsee and Oojein. Mr Anderson, in reporting to the Governor-General the actual commencement of the war, stated that "the Rana was acting with much spirit and resolution. He is unable to oppose Scindiah's army in the field, but his people have frequently attacked with success Scindiah's foraging parties." Upon the 30th of March 1782, the Resident informed the Governor-General that "a few days since 'Daood Beg Khan,' one of Scindiah's generals, had been sent into the Rana's country of the Punj Muhals, as Subadhar, with a force consisting of 4000 horse and foot. The Rana having received intelligence of his motions, sent two of his battalions, under Kessuree Singh and Madoo Ram, who came unexpectedly on Daood Beg's camp in the night and made great havoc, and having put the whole detachment to flight, possessed themselves of their effects and baggage. Daood Khan escaped himself, with five or six horsemen, to a small fort about ten miles from his camp. This success, the Agent reported, had so discouraged Scindiah, that he had made overtures to the Rana to form an alliance; a fact which the Rana, on the 23d April 1782, brought to the notice of the Agent, stating that he had refused to listen to the proposal, having no confidence whatever in the good faith of Scindiah. That chief, finding his proposals rejected by the Rana, sent a confidential agent to Mr Anderson,* to state that the continued opposition shown to his arms by the Rana was causing him

* Anderson to Governor-General 4th June 1782.

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great embarrassment, and preventing him carrying on operations elsewhere. Scindiah, therefore, hoped that the British Government would aid him in subduing the Rana and getting possession of the Fortress of Gwalior, by force of arms or by inducing the Rana to make it over to Scindiah, in which case he would give the Rana, in exchange for Gwalior, a district of three or four lakhs of rupees, or any other compensation the Government might dictate. Scindiah did not doubt that the Rana would submit to whatever the Governor-General might prescribe; but if the Rana refused, Scindiah hoped we would aid him by giving two or three battalions who might, in concert with his own troops, prosecute the war against the Rana, leaving him (Scindiah) at liberty to carry on his operations elsewhere. In consequence of these overtures, the Resident thought it requisite "to answer the messenger seriously, for the information of Scindiah, that when he commenced hostilities against the Rana, and accused the Rana of perfidy towards the British Government, he, the Resident, had, acting under the order of the Governor-General, declared that he could not interfere in their disputes. If it were asserted that the Rana had forfeited this guarantee by failing to aid Colonel Muir's force, and by entering into a separate negotiation with Scindiah to the detriment of British interests, the Rana might justly reply, that the required aid had been furnished by him to the British Government to the extent of four battalions of infantry and 1200 cavalry, as reported by Colonel Muir to the Governor-General on the 24th September 1781; that the negotiations complained of had been entered into by him under the direct authority of Colonel Muir; that he had entered into no direct engagement himself to our prejudice, *and that whatever he had done in receiving an engagement from the Mahrattas, had been previous to Colonel Muir's Treaty, and being known to Col. Muir at the time when that Treaty was concluded, was therefore virtually forgiven, and could not invalidate any of the stipulations contained in*

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that Treaty." The Resident, therefore, told Scindiah's messenger "that the Rana would never accede to a proposition which, coming from the British Government, would appear so unjust." In concluding his report to the Governor-General, of his reply to Scindiah's messenger, Mr Anderson added, "that in point of policy it ought not to be our wish that the Mahrattas should ever recover the fortress of Gwalior. It forms an important barrier to our possessions. In the hands of the Rana it can be of no prejudice to us, and notwithstanding the present prospect of a permanent peace betwixt us and the Mahrattas, it seems highly expedient that there should always remain some strong barrier to separate us on this side of India from that warlike and powerful nation." "On 29th June 1782, the Resident informed the Governor-General, that in consequence of the answer he had made to Scindiah, as above reported, Scindiah had abandoned his intention of soliciting British aid against the Rana. Upon the 8th August 1782, the Resident informed the Governor-General that although the Rana's troops had several times surprised and routed the forces of Scindiah, the Rana had not thought it prudent to oppose in the field the main body of Scindiah's army as long as it kept at a distance from Gohud and Gwalior, and Scindiah had not up to that time felt himself strong enough to approach near these fortresses, but as all the more distant parts of the Rana's country were mostly reduced, Scindiah must soon either change his plan of conduct or the war must be at a stand." Under these circumstances, the Agent, on 22d September 1782, pointed out to the Governor-General, that the strict neutrality he was bound by his instructions to maintain between the contending parties was impossible, so long as he remained as British Minister in Scindiah's camp. "There was a strong objection," the Agent said, "to his remaining with Scindiah, which might not have occurred to the Governor-General, and that is, that my presence is, I believe, of great use to Scindiah in advancing his projects against the Rana. The

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neighbouring Rajahs are thus taught to expect that the English may assist Scindiah in the war, and none of them in consequence, except the Rajahs of Dhattea and Budoureeah, had ventured to declare in the Rana's favour, and this was not the Agent's own speculative opinion, for the Rana had himself once or twice complained of it to the Resident." The Governor-General, however, was not to be moved, and no consideration of good faith and observance of treaties, although urged on him by his own Agent, could induce him to take any measures "to protect or preserve the Rana from those enemies whose resentment he had provoked only by his faithful adherence to the interests of the British nation." On the contrary, his retaining his Agent with Scindiah, after this exposition of its evil results to the Rana's interests, showed that his affectation of neutrality "was a gross and scandalous mockery—his real object being to give countenance and encouragement to Mahdajee Scindiah."

Upon the 17th November 1782, the Resident reported that Scindiah, after reducing most of the Rana's territories to the south-east and west of Gwalior, had at length advanced his army between Gwalior and Gohud. "Most of the Rana's tributories, finding their master was unable to protect them from the ravages of the Mahrattas, have made their terms with Scindiah—the Rana has himself retired to Gwalior, leaving the defence of Gohud to his Dewan." Five guns, "two of them of enormous size, which Scindiah sent for from Oojein, were on their way to his camp escorted by 3000 or 4000 horse. He has withdrawn his troops from the reduced forts at a distance, and left them in charge of the Zemindars, who apparently submitted to his authority, but have again acknowledged the authority of the Rana, whose troops they have re-admitted into their strongholds. As soon as the guns arrive and supplies of powder, Scindiah will undertake the siege of Gohud, which, if properly defended, will doubtless employ him for some months."

On 19th March 1783, the Resident reported to the Gover-

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nor-General that Scindiah had again requested him to apply to the British Government for the aid of three or four battalions, to enable him to reduce the Rana, and bring the war to a speedy conclusion, so that he might be at liberty to pursue his plans of conquest elsewhere. In forwarding this request, such a coalition, Scindiah argued, would be important for the British, as it would plainly prove that the views of the British and Mahrattas were one, and no one would attempt to dissolve them. The Resident dissuaded the Governor-General from acceding to this request, as Scindiah's real intentions were very doubtful; that he might just as readily go to Delhi with his troops as to the Deccan; whereas Gohud and Gwalior held out, and would, if Scindiah received no aid from the British, occupy him a very considerable time to reduce them." In giving this advice, it will be seen that the Agent was not moved by any desire to protect the Rana from destruction, but merely to leave Scindiah in a position in which he could not carry on operations which might prove embarrassing and prejudicial to the Company's Government. The Governor-General, Warren Hastings, was now about to return from Benares and rejoin his Council in Calcutta. While absent from the Presidency, and exercising in his own person the entire authority of the Governor-General in Council, it has been seen that he was duly and regularly informed of the progress of the war against the Rana, and of every event thereof, notwithstanding which, he not only neglected in any manner to interfere therein in "favour of the Rana, or take any endeavours to prevent the infraction of the Treaty, which had never been abrogated or annulled, and was in full force. On the contrary, he gave considerable countenance and encouragement to Mahdajee Scindiah in his violation of it, notwithstanding he was in justice bound, and stood pledged by the most solemn and sacred engagements, to protect and preserve the Rana from his enemies." Had the charges preferred against the Rana been, in the Governor-

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General's opinion, substantiated, there can be no doubt that he would have grasped the opportunity thereby afforded him of abrogating the Treaty with the Rana of Gohud of 1779, and the fourth article of the Treaty with Scindiah; but both these solemn instruments remained intact, the Governor-General feeling that he could not, with any regard to public faith, set either the one or the other formally aside. The Rana of Gohud, finding that it was vain for him to apply to the Governor-General in person for the aid guaranteed to him by Treaty, considered that, now that the Governor-General had rejoined his Council, there might be some hope of that body over-ruling the Governor-General and interfering in his behalf. Accordingly, the Rana sent his Vakeel, Kessiorie Singh, to wait upon the Governor-General and Council in Calcutta, in order to beg, under the Treaty, for the aid of a military force to repel the invasion of Scindiah; and for such assistance he offered an annual nuzzeranah of four lakhs of rupees, to be paid on the arrival of the force at Gohud; and as Scindiah's object was to obtain the stronghold of Gwalior, the Rana offered to deliver it up to the English, for the double purpose of proving his attachment to, and confidence in, the Government, and to frustrate the views of the enemy upon it; and to pay "two lakhs of rupees for the expenses of the garrison." The expectations of the Rana, of having his just claims more favourably listened to by the Council, were found to be fallacious. That body consisted of three members, and as one of these invariably supported the Governor-General, who also possessed a casting vote, the result was that he had a majority in his favour, and the opposition of the other two members was rendered practically nugatory. The representations of these two members, however, were sufficient to induce the Governor-General to instruct the Agent to "sound Scindiah on the subject of forming a peace with the Rana, in such a manner as to avoid exciting the least idea of jealousy or distrust in his mind, and if he shall seem to be inclined to a

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pacification, you may inform him that the Governor-General in Council will be very happy to be made the instrument of it." But it would appear that the Agent received instructions from the Governor-General, modifying even this very modified amount of interference in favour of the Rana, for in a letter of 20th May 1783, the Agent reported to the Governor-General that "in obedience to his orders he had clearly and explicitly declared to Scindiah's Minister that it was so far from your, the Governor-General's, meaning to intercede in the Rana's favour, that I only desired him to sound Scindiah's sentiments, and in case he was desirous of peace, to mention what I said; but if he seemed to prefer carrying on the war, I begged the Minister not to mention a syllable of what had passed, but let the matter drop entirely." In the meantime Scindiah had commenced the siege of Gwalior, and had opened three batteries against it. The Agent reported further to the Governor-General, "that it was said that Scindiah was tampering with some of the officers within the walls, and as from the extraordinary drought of the season, the tanks were dried up, and the garrison begins to feel the want of water." Upon the 18th August 1783, the Agent reported to the Governor-General in Council that the "important fortress of Gwalior is now in the possession of Scindiah. The treachery of a part of the garrison procured an easy admittance to a select body of Mahrattas. When they had gained the head of the breach, about two hours before daylight this morning, a signal was given of their success, and they were soon supported by vast numbers, who flocked from all quarters of the camp. The remainder of the garrison who still adhered to the Ranee were compelled to retire to the apartments of the palace, where they made a desperate resistance, which was fatal to themselves and to a number of Mahrattas. It is said that the Ranee blew herself up with gunpowder, and that the body of the Rajedar, the commandant, has been found covered with wounds."

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The following news-letter, drawn out by the Agent's own news-writer from the tent of Scindiah, was at the same time forwarded for the information of the Governor-General in Council, dated 1 Ramazan, Fort-Gwalior.

"Yesterday, in the middle of the night, Motahmall, the Kotewal of Gwalior, sent a man with the following message to Mahan Ram, Dewan of Badillghuna, that he and Rajah Goroo were the same heart and soul, without the least distinction; that accordingly, by their mutual determination, Rajah Goroo was sent, whom it would be proper to introduce to the Maha Rajah, and, having conformably made offers, firmly settled the negotiation, send speedy intelligence that no delays or procrastination ought to be made, because they have to this time faithfully served Rajah Rana Chuttee Singh, and were now desirous of attaching themselves to the service of the Pattell Sahib (Scindiah), but let the matter be strongly settled, that in future no deviation should happen. The said Dewan, according to the desire of Motahmall, immediately went to the presence of the Pattell Sahib (Scindiah), and calling him from his sleep told him the whole particulars. The Maha Rajah, having understood the matter, said that whatever they should ask should be granted. At the same time, he sent for Rana Jan Ram and Acheem Bey, and the other confidential chiefs, and held a private consultation with them, and it was determined that whatever Motahmall and Rajah Goroo should say should be agreed to. Accordingly, Pattell Sahib called Rajah Goroo into his presence, and told him the resolution. Rajah Goroo informed him of all the state of the fort, and the particulars of their offer. The Maha Rajah and Rajah Goroo, and all his confidents, having considered together for four hours, agreed that whatever Rajah should say would be agreed to. The Rajah Goroo mentioned his terms to the Maha Rajah, Pattell Sahib got the whole in writing, and passed his promise; Maha Ram Dewan then came to Rodil-

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gunah and got his own troops in readiness, and Pattell Sahib sending for all his chiefs, gave them orders to be ready, and said to the "Salars" to be immediately prepared with their troops, but to make no noise or bustle. The whole army being then ready, came with the greatest silence into the batteries, and Pattel Sahib himself, remaining in his own tent, gave the necessary orders with caution and secrecy, and posted hurcarehs and camels under the fort to bring intelligence every instant. The whole army remained stationed under the fort, when four gurries of the night were still left they marched up towards Oorivajee. At the same moment the people of Kurrum Khan's battalion, and the body guards, and the battalion of Porss attacked the battery. Ten or twelve men first entered the fort, and throwing down ropes, helped all the others up instantly. Two hundred had entered it in less than one gurree, and began to engage. The rest of the Maha Rajah's army surrounded the fort on all sides, and the pioneers quietly threw up defences. The Sepoys crept into the fort like ants and locusts, and having discharged their pieces, prepared to maintain themselves. The Killuhdar Rajadhur and Rewamry Doss came also with their forces and began the attack. The people of the fort were at last obliged to give way, and the people of the Maha Rajah, by the Maha Rajah's good fortune, got possession of the fort by the way of Oorivajee, and Donapour, and Bahttghur, and advancing to the market-place of the fort, began discharging their cannon and rockets; they then drew their swords and made such use of them as to cause a river of blood. Rajadhur the Killuhdar, and Rewamry Doss, and Boozam Singh, the uncle of the Rana, were killed; and the Ranee, the wife of Rana Chuttee Singh, destroyed herself by an explosion of gunpowder. The Ranee was a daughter of a Zemindar of Gujerance; she was married to the Rana about eight years ago, and at the time of her death was about eighteen. She was the Rana's second wife, and remained in Gwalior when the Rana himself had returned to defend Gohud."

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Thus fell by treachery the important fortress of Gwalior, after a most gallant resistance on the part of its brave defenders of more than four months. There is no event more worthy of admiration in the history of the native Princes of India, prolific as it is of heroic deeds and instances of exalted patriotism, than the intrepidity and devotion with which this young Ranee, only eighteen years of age at the time of her death, maintained to the last the trust committed to her by her noble husband, of defending to the utmost that great fortress, which is described by an historian of that time as "the pearl of the necklace of the Castles of Hindostan,* the summit of which the nimble-footed wind from below cannot reach, and on the brow of which the rapid clouds have never cast a shadow."

The news of the fall of Gwalior induced one of the members of the Supreme Council to move that "we should exert the influence of the Government with Mahdajee Scindiah to grant honourable terms to the Rana of Gohud, at least for the safety of his family and person." The Governor-General in consequence informed the Council "that he will write to Lieutenant James Anderson," who had by this time succeeded his brother as Governor-General's Agent with Scindiah, "in favour of the Rana of Gohud, and lay his letter before the Board." But it is significant of the Governor-General's intention to abandon the Rana to his fate, that "professing not to recollect the promise of 22d September, he neglected to write this formal official letter to the Agent in favour of the Rana of Gohud," but addressed a private communication a month later, on the 21st October 1783, to Lieutenant Anderson, "in which, so far from carrying out the views of the Council, and directing any effectual interference in favour of the Rana, or commanding his Agent to interpose the mediation of the British Government to procure *honourable terms* for the Rana, or even the safety of his *person and family*, contained the bitterest invectives

* Hasan Nizamû Tāj-ul-Ma Asir. Ben. Sec. Coun., 22d Sept. 1783.

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against him, and is expressive of the satisfaction which he, the Governor-General, Warren Hastings, acknowledges himself to have enjoyed in the distresses of the Rana, the ally of the Company." The following is an extract from that despatch, and it is highly requisite to bear in memory in perusing it, that the alleged acts of perfidy therein alluded to were in themselves never established; on the contrary, were found to be false; and that even had they been found correct, they had been all known to the Governor-General previous to the conclusion of the Treaty of Scindiah, by the fourth article of which the safety of the Rana and his dominions was guaranteed, and therefore were condoned, and considered at that time by the Governor-General as not established. "Though the Rana's perfidy," the Governor-General states to his Agent in this disgraceful communication, "has been strongly exemplified in his conduct to our Government, and I myself rejoice at every instance of a traitor suffering the punishment of his treachery, and deriving it from the influence* of his character; yet I must again desire you to offer our mediation and intercession on his behalf. Let Scindiah accept our pledge for his good behaviour, and if the Rana shall afterwards break his engagements, we will declare him equally the enemy of our Government as his, and consider ourselves at liberty to act hostilely against him. An engagement to act hostilely may not suit the state of our own affairs perhaps, or *the disposition of the members of this Government*—and I do not like to make an engagement which I think others may refuse to abide by—yet I think this kind of guarantee will satisfy Scindiah, and he will not want our assistance to crush so fallen an enemy. If the Rana should take advantage of Scindiah's absence to renew his hostilities, in that case we ought, on requisition, to invade the dominions of the Rana, and that may be made a specific condition of our guarantee." In respect of the contents of this letter it may be observed,

* Sic in original.

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"that the measures therein recommended were taken with the view of satisfying Scindiah, and to justify the British Government in not having taken a more active part against the Rana than an intercession on his behalf. Further, that though no consideration or observance of treaties could induce the Governor-General to incur the hazard of any hostile exertions of the British force for the defence and relief of the allies of the British Government, yet he distinctly directed that, in case his mediation should be accepted, it should be made a specific condition, that if the Rana should take advantage of Scindiah's absence to renew his hostilities, *we ought in that case, on requisition, to invade his, the Rana's, dominions.*" It was, moreover, a gross and scandalous mockery in the Governor-General to "defer an application to obtain honourable terms for the Rana and safety for his person and family, till he had been deprived of his principal fortress, in defence of which his uncle lost his life, and on the capture of which, his Ranee, to avoid the dishonour of falling into the hands of her enemies, had destroyed herself." It appears, however, that even the offer of mediation—insufficient as it was—was never made nor any influence exerted by the British Agent in the Rana's behalf, as such offer would have been unpalatable to Scindiah, who was known to entertain rigorous intentions against the Rana should he fall into his power. After the fall of his chief stronghold of Gwalior, the Rana continued with indomitable courage to maintain the contest against Scindiah, and for four months successfully defended the fort of Gohud against the entire forces of the invader. At last, finding all hope of assistance or even mediation from the British Government vain, the Rana was forced, on the 25th February 1784, to offer to capitulate. Scindiah, it appears, had offered the Rana a jaghire of two or three lakhs annually in case he would surrender his fort, and to put him in possession of the fort of Khat, and a portion of his own ancient territory to that amount. The Rana, however, did not accept these terms, but finding his position in Gohud no longer tenable,

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"Came out on horseback, attended by a few horsemen. He delivered a nuzzer and presented a pair of pistols to Scindiah, who received them with great respect, putting them to his breast. The Rana was then conducted to some tents that were pitched for him in Scindiah's camp."

Now that the Rana was a captive in the hands of his enemy, it might have been expected that the British* Agent would at length have interfered to obtain honourable terms for himself and some provision for his family. It appears, indeed, that even Scindiah himself considered that the British Government would be naturally anxious to interfere in behalf of their ally, and accordingly communicated with the Agent as to the Rana's future disposal, observing that "as he was especially solicitous to preserve the good opinion of the British," he was prepared to consider favourably the Agent's representations on the subject. Instead, however, of interposing in the Rana's behalf, the Agent intimated to Scindiah "that the British Government was in no way concerned in the affairs of the Rana, and he therefore declined to give any opinion as to the Rana's future disposal." The Agent, in communicating his reply to the Governor-General, stated he was actuated in adopting this course by the consideration that "the time did not appear favourable for any application of the British Government to Scindiah in the Rana's behalf, as it would probably be rejected, or, if acquiesced in, burdened with guarantees which might involve many disagreeable circumstances hereafter." The Agent further expressed his fear that it was Scindiah's intention to treat the Rana with great rigour. "There being many political reasons of a powerful nature which will operate with him to keep the Rana in perpetual confinement. His active and enterprising disposition, *joined to the attachment which the natives will retain for their ancient chief, must be a perpetual source of disquiet to Scindiah, in case of the unrestrained liberty of the Rana.*" Shortly after, the Agent reported that the Rana,† with his

* Agent to Gov.-Gen., 13th Ap. 1783.
† Agent to Gov.-Gen., 18th Ap. 1784.

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mother, were in camp close to Scindiah's army, and closely guarded by a party of Mahratta Horse, attached to him nominally as an honorary escort, but in reality to keep strict watch over him. In this position, as a prisoner, the Rana remained until December 1784, when, finding that all hope of being honourably treated by his conqueror was vain, he made his escape, and took refuge with a neighbouring chief at enmity with Scindiah, and who, pitying his misfortunes, offered the Rana an asylum. The struggle for his national independence, which the Rana for more than three years had thus maintained single-handed against the great power of Scindiah, was most honourable to himself and to the patriotism and unflinching devotion of his subjects to their hereditary ruler. The history of this war cannot fail to produce in the breast of every officer of the British Government feelings of the deepest indignation at the disgrace brought on our Government by this shameful abandonment of the Rana to his enemies by the Governor-General. And it is, therefore, most gratifying to reflect that as soon as the real facts of the case became gradually known to the authorities at home, the policy of Warren Hastings towards our ally was condemned and repudiated as dishonourable, and injurious to the credit of the British nation, and formed one of the articles of charges of "high crimes and misdemeanours" for which the Governor-General was impeached ~~and tried before~~ by the Parliament of Great Britain.

That charge, as submitted to Parliament, set forth that on the 2d December 1779, the Governor-General and Council of Fort-William, at the special recommendation and instance of Warren Hastings, Esq., Governor-General, did conclude a Treaty of perpetual friendship and alliance with a Hindoo Prince, called the Rana of Gohud, for the express purpose of using the forces of the said Rana in opposition to the Mahrattas. That among other articles, it was stipulated with the said Rana, by the said Warren Hastings, that, "whenever peace should be concluded between the Com-

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pany and the Mahratta State, the Maha Rajah should be included as a party in the Treaty which should be made for that purpose, and his present possessions, together with the Fort of Gwalior, which of old belonged to the family of the Maha Rajah, if it should be then in his possession, and such countries as he should have acquired in the course of war, and which it should then be stipulated to leave in his hands, should be guaranteed to him by such Treaty."

That in the late war against the Mahrattas, the said Rana of Gohud did actually join the British army under the command of Colonel Muir, with two battalions of infantry and 1200 cavalry, and did then serve in person against the Mahrattas, thereby affording material assistance and rendering effectual service to the Company.

That in conformity to the above-mentioned Treaty, in the fourth article of the Treaty of Peace, concluded on the 13th of October 1781, between Colonel Muir, on the part of the English Company, and Mahdajee Scindiah, the Mahratta general, the said Rana of Gohud was expressly included.

That notwithstanding the express provision and agreement, Mahdajee Scindiah proceeded to attack the forts and lay waste the territories of the said Rana, and did undertake and prosecute a war against him for the space of two years; in the course of which the Rana and his family were reduced to extreme distress, and in the end he was deprived of his forts and the whole not only of his acquired possessions but of his original dominions, so specially guaranteed to him by the British Government in both the above-mentioned Treaties.

That the said Warren Hastings was duly and regularly informed of the progress of the war against the Rana, and of every event thereof; notwithstanding which, he not only neglected in any manner to interfere therein in favour of the said Rana, or to use any endeavours to prevent the infraction of the Treaty, but gave considerable countenance and encouragement to Mahdajee Scindiah in his violation of it,

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both by the residence of the British Minister in the Mahratta Camp, and by the approbation shown by the said Warren Hastings to the promises made by his Agent of observing the strictest neutrality, notwithstanding he was in justice bound, and stood pledged by the most solemn and sacred engagements, to protect and preserve the said Rana from those enemies whose resentment he had provoked only by his adherence to the interests of the British nation.

That in the only attempt made to sound the disposition of Mahdajee Scindiah, relative to a pacification between him and the Rana of Gohud, on the 14th of May 1783, Mr Anderson, in obedience to the orders he had received, did clearly and explicitly declare to Bhow Bucksey, the Minister of Mahdajee Scindiah, the sentiments of the said Warren Hastings, in the words following :—"That it was so far from your (the said Hastings) meaning to intercede in his (the said Rana's) favour, that I only desired him to sound Scindiah's sentiments, and in case he was desirous of peace, to mention what I had said; but if he seemed to prefer carrying on the war, I begged that he would not mention a syllable of what had passed, but let the matter drop entirely."

That it afterwards appeared in a minute of the said Hastings, in Council at Fort-William, on the 22d of September 1783, that he promised, at the instance of a member of the Council, to write to Lieutenant James Anderson in favour of the Rana of Gohud, and lay his letter before the Board.

That, nevertheless, the said Hastings, professing not to recollect his said promise, did neglect to write a formal letter to Lieutenant Anderson, in favour of the said Rana of Gohud, and that the private letter, the extract of which the said Hastings did lay before the Board on the 21st October 1783, so far from directing any effectual interference in favour of the said Rana, or commanding his Agent, the said James Anderson, to interpose the mediation of the British

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Government to procure "honourable terms" for the said Rana, or even "safety to his person and family," contains the bitterest invectives against him, and is expressive of the satisfaction which the said Hastings acknowledges himself to have enjoyed in the distresses of the said Rana, the ally of the Company.

That the measures therein recommended appear rather to have been designed to satisfy Mahdajee Scindiah, and to justify the conduct of the British Government in not having taken a more active and a more hostile part against the said Rana than an intercession on his behalf.

That though no consideration of good faith, or observance of treaties, could induce the said Hastings to incur the hazard of any hostile exertion of the British force for the defence or the relief of the allies of the Company, yet in the said private letter he directed that, in case his mediation should be accepted, it should be made a *specific condition* that, if the said Rana should take advantage of Scindiah's absence to renew his hostilities, we ought, in that case, on requisition, to invade the dominions of the Rana. That no beneficial effects could have been procured to the said Rana by an offer of mediation delayed till Scindiah no longer wanted "our assistance to crush an enemy;" at the same time that no reason was given to Scindiah to apprehend the danger of drawing upon himself the resentment of the British Government by a disregard of their proposal and the destruction of their ally.

That it was a gross and scandalous mockery in the said Hastings to defer an application to obtain honourable terms for the Rana, and safety for his person and family, till he had been deprived of his principal fort, in defence of which his uncle lost his life, and on the capture of which, his wife, to avoid the dishonour consequent upon falling into the hands of her enemies, had destroyed herself by an explosion of gunpowder.

That, however, it does not appear that any offer of

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mediation was ever actually made, or any influence exerted, either for the safety of the Rana's person and family, or in mitigation of the "rigorous intentions," supposed, by Lieutenant Anderson, to have been entertained against him by Mahdajee Scindiah, after his surrender.

That the said Hastings, in the instructions given by him to Mr David Anderson, for his conduct in negotiating the Treaty of Peace with the Mahrattas, expressed his determination to desert the Rana of Gohud, in the following words:—"You will, of course, be attentive to any engagements subsisting between us and other powers in settling the terms of peace and alliance with the Mahrattas, I except from this the Rana of Gohud. Leave him to settle his own affairs with the Mahrattas."

That the said Anderson appears very assiduously to have sought for grounds to justify the execution of this part of his instructions, to which, however, he was at all events obliged to conform.

That, even after his application for that purpose to the Mahrattas, whose testimony was much to be suspected, because it was their interest to accuse, and their determined object to destroy, the said Rana, no satisfactory proof was obtained of his defection from the engagements he had entered into with the Company.

That, moreover, if all the charges which have been pretended against the Rana, and have been alleged by the said Hastings in justification of his conduct, had been well founded and proved to be true, the subject matter of the accusation, and the proofs by which they were to be supported, were known to Colonel Muir before the conclusion of the Treaty he entered into with Mahdajee Scindiah; and, therefore, whatever suspicions may have been entertained, or whatever degree of criminality may have been proved against the said Rana, previous to the said Treaty, he was fully and justly entitled to the security stipulated for him by the Company, and had a right to demand and receive the protection of the British Government.

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That these considerations were urged by Mr Anderson to the said Warren Hastings, in his letter of the 24th June 1781, and were enforced by this additional argument: "That in point of policy, I believe it ought not to be our wish that the Mahrattas should ever recover the Fortress of Gwalior; it forms an important barrier to our own possessions. In the hands of the Rana it can be of no prejudice to us, and notwithstanding the present prospect of a permanent peace betwixt us and the Mahrattas, it seems highly expedient that there should always remain some barrier to separate us on this side of India, from that warlike and powerful nation."

That the said Warren Hastings was highly culpable in abandoning the said Rana to the fury of his enemies, thereby forfeiting the honour and injuring the credit of the British nation in India, notwithstanding the said Hastings was fully convinced, and had professed, "that the most sacred observance of treaties, justice, and good faith, were necessary to the existence of the national interests in that country; and though the said Hastings has complained of the insufficiency of the laws of this kingdom to enforce this doctrine, and by the punishment of persons in the possession of power, who may be impelled by the provocation of ambition, avarice, or vengeance, stronger than the restrictions of integrity and honour, to the violation of this just and wise maxim."

That the said Hastings, in thus departing from these, his own principles, with a full and just sense of the guilt he would thereby incur, and in sacrificing the allies of this country "to the provocations of ambition, avarice, or vengeance," in violation of the national faith and justice, did commit a gross and wilful breach of his duty, and was thereby guilty of an high crime and misdemeanour."

Warren Hastings, in his defence, merely reiterated the charges of perfidy and treachery against the Rana, which have already been adverted to, and maintained that these justified him in his abandonment of the Rana. He, however, failed to meet the plain answer to this, that all these charges, and the proofs by which they were supported, were all before and well

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known to him when he concluded the Treaty with Scindiah, the 4th article of which provided for the safety of the Rana and his dominions. It was clear, therefore, that in his judgment these charges were not substantiated, otherwise Warren Hastings would not have hesitated to make them a ground of summarily abrogating the Treaty between the British Government and the Rana of 1779, and of excluding the Rana from any guarantee under the Treaty with Scindiah. The conduct of the Rana was clearly, therefore, in the Governor-General's view, not such as would justify him in abrogating the Treaty of 1779, which he had himself pressed on the adoption of the Council, without laying himself open to the charge of "sacrificing an ally of the British Government to the ambition, avarice, and vengeance of his hereditary enemy." To avoid such a charge and ostensibly maintain the faith of Treaties, Warren Hastings included in the Treaty with Scindiah the article which, if observed, would have amply provided for the security of the Rana and his dominions, but he deliberately, though secretly, violated it, by tacitly consenting to waive its stipulation, "and thus, in violation of the national faith and justice, did commit a gross and wilful breach of his duty, and was thereby guilty of an high crime and misdemeanour." But although this was the final judgment of the Court of Directors of the Honourable East India Company and of the highest Court in the realm (the Houses of [redacted] Commons in Parliament assembled), no reparation was ever made to the Rana of Gohud for the loss of his country or the destruction of his family, which had been brought upon him by his faithful adherence to the interests of the British nation. The Treaty of 1779, the binding character of which on the British Government was thus clearly admitted by Parliament, violated though it was by Hastings, was never modified or abrogated.

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CHAPTER II.

Warren Hastings, in announcing to his Council * the conquest of Gohud by Scindiah, and the extinction of the power of our ally the Rana, instead of expressing any regret, regarded the result as cause of congratulation to the Government, stating it as his opinion, that, "although much had been said of Scindiah's falsehood and duplicity, and inferences have thus been drawn of his future dangerous designs against the British and their allies, I consider that Scindiah does not deserve this character. How far the subjection of the Rana of Gohud and his dominions to Scindiah will prove in its consequences favourable or otherwise to the British interests, time alone will discover; but my opinion inclines me to believe that every accession of territory obtained by Scindiah will be an advantage to the British Government."

It did not, indeed, take much time to prove the utter fallacy of the Governor-General's (Warren Hastings) expectations in this respect. Indeed, the history of the Government of India from that time until 1843, in so far as respects its connection with Scindiah, conveys a striking lesson to the world of the impolicy and danger which sooner or later result from the deliberate violation, on the part of a government, of the solemn obligations of a treaty. Up to Warren Hastings recognising Scindiah as an independent Prince, and

* Ben. Sec. Coun., 11th May 1784.

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ally of the British Government, by concluding with him the Treaty of 1782, Scindiah was nothing more than a servant of the Peshwah. After the conclusion of the Treaty, Scindiah was elevated to the position of an independent Prince, with a British Resident at his Court, and at once commenced pushing on his schemes of ambition towards Hindostan. Placing a servant of his own, Ambujee Anglia, in charge of the Fortress of Gwalior and the conquered territory of Gohud, Scindiah advanced with his troops towards Delhi, and forced the Emperor to assign him the provinces of Agra and Delhi. By degrees he increased his army, and possessed himself of all the territory between the Sutlej and Allahabad, in addition to his provinces in Malwah and the Deccan. His armies, commanded and disciplined by French officers, the bitter enemies of the British, consisted of sixteen battalions of infantry, five hundred pieces of cannon, and one hundred thousand cavalry. Feeling now that he was in a position to cope with the British, he threw off all his assumed friendship for the Government, and demanded from the Government in Calcutta the arrears of chouth, which he asserted was due to him for the provinces of Bengal and Bahar.

It was solely in consequence of the tortuous policy followed by Warren Hastings* that Scindiah was enabled so speedily to attain to such a pitch of power, and to assume so menacing an attitude towards the British Government. "By tacitly waiving the stipulations which Warren Hastings had obtained in favour of the Rana of Gohud, the Governor-General allowed Scindiah to effect the reduction of all the country lying between Gwalior and the Jumna River. Had the British Government adhered to the Rana, and protected him from the resentment and ambition of the Mahrattas, Scindiah would never have formed the design of passing the Chumbul River without conquering the Rana, which Scindiah could never have done unless the Governor-General had stood aloof; he would never have been able to

* Col. Kirkpatrick to Lord Cornwallis, Ben. Sec. Coun., 20th July 1787.

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have availed himself in a proper manner of the favourable conjuncture presented to his ambition by the then disturbed state of the Mogul Government. Scindiah naturally ascribed the conduct of the British Government in thus tacitly permitting the destruction of its ancient ally to fear of himself, and became arrogant and menacing in his conduct towards them.

Mahdajee Scindiah died in February 1794, and was succeeded by his adopted son and grand-nephew, Dowlut Rao Scindiah. This chief evinced from the commencement of his career the most determined enmity to the British Government, and entered into a hostile confederacy, for the subversion of their power, with Holkar and the Rajah of Berar. The Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, on learning of this coalition, determined to attack the allies on both sides of India. He accordingly directed his brother, General Wellesley, subsequently the Duke of Wellington, to advance into the Deccan to attack Scindiah and Holkar's main body, and he instructed Lord Lake to attack Scindiah's battalions in Hindostan, under the command of General Perron. With the view of more effectually opposing the designs of Scindiah in North-Western India, Lord Wellesley determined to secure the co-operation against the Mahrattas of the Jat and Rajpoot Princes of Hindostan. With this view he contracted Treaties with Jeypore and Jodhpore, and also with the Maha Rana of Gohud. The Commander-in-Chief, Lord Lake, was instructed to conclude an engagement with that chief, and advance the necessary funds to enable him to raise troops to aid the British forces in attacking Scindiah's forces. The Maha Rana, with that zeal and courage which had formerly distinguished his conduct, collected without delay a very effective body of troops, and "was actively and successfully employed during the whole course of the war in opposing the troops of Scindiah, and in performing the duties of a faithful ally of the British Government."* By the capture of

* Gov.-Gen. to Sec. Coun. in London, 24th March 1804.

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Ahmednuggur and the victory of Assaye, gained by the Duke of Wellington's forces; and by the capture of Allyghur and Agra, and the victories of Delhi and Laswaree by the army under Lord Lake; the power of Scindiah was completely broken, and all his territories in the Deccan, in Gujerat, and Hindostan wrested from him He found himself forced to sue for peace, and to accept the terms which, by the Governor-General's orders, were offered to him by the Duke of Wellington, and to sign the Treaty of "Sirjee Argengaon." By this Treaty he ceded all his conquests lying between the Ganges and the Jumna, and all lying to the north of the Rajpoot States of Jeypore and Jodhpore, and of the Rana of Gohud. By the ninth article of the Treaty, it was further stipulated, that "certain treaties have been made by the British Government with Rajahs and others, heretofore feudatories of the Maha Jat Dowlut Rao Scindiah; these treaties are to be confirmed, and the Maha Rajah hereby renounces all claims upon the persons with whom such treaties have been made, and declares them to be independent of his government and authority; provided that none of the territories belonging to the Maha Rajah situated to the southward of those of the Rajahs of Jeypore and Jodhpore, and the Rana of Gohud, of which the revenues have been collected by him or his aumildars, or have been applicable as serinjamee to the payment of his troops, are granted away by such treaties. A list of the persons with whom such treaties have been made will be given to the Maha Rajah Dowlut Rao Scindiah, when this Treaty will be ratified by his Excellency the Governor-General." The Duke of Wellington, who negotiated this Treaty, addressed the Governor-General on the day on which it was concluded with Scindiah, the 30th December 1803,* stating that "there was considerable difficulty in settling the ninth article of the Treaty, respecting the Treaties made with the Rajahs of Jeypore and Jodhpore and the Rana of Gohud. The

* Wellesley Papers, British Museum, folio 13,424.

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Minister appeared to be aware of the loss which Scindiah's Government would incur under this article, and they contended strongly against it, till at last I was obliged to tell them that unless they agreed to it I would not make peace. The advantages which it appeared to me that your Excellency expected to derive from the independence of the Rajahs of Jeypore and Jodhpore, *and the Rana of Gohud*, was that these Chiefs should connect themselves by Treaty with the British Government. I therefore deemed it best to stipulate generally for the independence of every Rajah with whom a Treaty should be concluded, by which your Excellency's object is insured in respect to all of this description, and in regard to others they are left to their fate."

Scindiah finding that the Duke of Wellington, acting under the instructions of the Governor-General in Council, was determined to enforce the ninth article of the Treaty, no longer objected to its conditions, and signed the document. He was determined, however, to evade its stipulations so far as they regarded the cession of Gwalior and Gohud. To this end he secretly instructed his servant, Ambujee Anglia, who had been, from the time of their conquest by Mahdajee Scindiah, in charge of these territories, to make overtures on his own part to the Governor-General, offering to desert his master, provided the British Government would recognise him as Rajah of Gohud and receive him as a tributary, in which case he would also cede to them the Fort of Gwalior. The Governor-General refused to accept these overtures, as being unjust to the Rana of Gohud, and quite incompatible with the agreement made with that chief by Lord Lake, under the instructions of the Government, for the restoration of his ancient dominions. The Governor-General, however, deeming it of great moment to obtain possession without a siege of so strong and important a fortress as Gwalior, offered to assign a certain extent of territory to Ambujee, and recognise him as Rajah thereof, on "condition of his delivering over, without delay or eva-

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sion, to the Company's Government, the Fortress of Gwalior, with other districts, relinquishing on his part all further claims on any account whatever to the said districts and forts." To these terms Ambujee ostensibly agreed, and a Treaty was concluded with him to this effect on the 15th January 1804. The Governor-General, apparently confiding in the good faith of Ambujee, and that he really intended to surrender Gwalior, and that, therefore, no bar existed to reinstating the Rana of Gohud in his ancient hereditary dominions, concluded with that chief, on the 29th January 1804, the following Treaty:—

(COPY.)

Treaty of amity and alliance between the Honourable the East India Company and Maharaj Seway Rana Keerut Sing, Luckinder Bahadur, providing for the guarantee, on the part of the Honourable Company, of the country of Gohud and others, to be held by Maharaj Rana in sovereignty and for the payment, on the part of the Maharaj Rana, of a subsidiary force from the Honourable Company, concluded by his Excellency General Gerard Lake, commander-in-chief of the British forces in India, in virtue of authority vested in him for that purpose by his Excellency the Most Noble Richard Marquis Wellesley, Knight of the Most Illustrious Order of Saint Patrick, one of his Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of all the land forces serving in the British possessions in India, and Governor-General in Council at Fort-William in Bengal, on the part of the Honourable Company, and by Maharaj Seway Rana Keerut Sing Bahadur for himself, his heirs and successors.

Article 1.

A permanent friendship and alliance is established between the Honourable Company and Maharaj Rana Keerut Sing Bahadur, and between their heirs and successors,

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In conformity to the friendship established, the friends and enemies of one party shall be the friends and enemies of both.

Article 2.

The Honourable the East India Company hereby agree to establish Maharaj Rana Keerut Sing in the sovereignty of his hereditary countries of Gohud, and the undermentioned districts to be possessed by him, his heirs and successors, free from all deductions, under the guarantee of the Honourable Company.

Gwalior Khas.
Antree and others, five mahals.
Antree.
Chummuck.
Powan.
Salbye and Chunour.
Ullahpore.
Summoulee.
Puharghur and others, composing Talook Suhurwarree.
Talook Jetwur.
Pergunnah Buide, with its Talooks.
Pergunnah Phomp.
Talook Oomree.
„ Ballawa.
„ Jugnee.
Seroy Choolah.
Doondree.
Ahnoun.
Noorabad.
Attowra.
Bahadurpore.
Balnitteo.
Curwas.
Hawalee Gohud.
Behut.

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Talook Sookulharee.
„ Amaun.
Inderkee.
Bhandere.
Nhodah.
Lahar and others, forming Zillah Katch-Wagar.
Lahar.
Rampoom.
Ruksees.
Ruthoonuda.
Baksa.
Gopalpoom.
Goojerra.
Ruttoulee.
Lawan Ralan.
Pergunnah Moh Ratwa.
Talook Deogurhs.

Article 3.

Three battalions of the Honourable Company's sepoys shall be permanently stationed with Maha Rajah Rana for the protection of his country, the expenses of which shall be regularly paid by the Maha Rajah Rana to the Honourable Company every month, at the monthly rate of twenty-five thousand Lucknow siccas rupees, or rupees of the same standard value, for each battalion, amounting to the monthly sum of seventy-five thousand rupees, or nine lacs of rupees annually. In the event of a failure on the part of the Maha Rajah Rana in the regular monthly payment of the expenses of the battalions, the Honourable Company's Government retains to itself the right of appointing a person to superintend the collection of the above amount from the country.

Article 4.

Maha Rajah Rana agrees that the possession of the fortress and city of Gwalior shall be permanently vested in

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the Honourable Company's Government, and that it shall be at the option of the Government to station the Honourable Company's troops in whichever of the other forts or places of strength in the Rana's country, and at whatever time the Government may deem expedient, with the exception of Gohud; and to level such forts and places of strength in the Rana's country, with the exception of Gohud, as to the Government may appear advisable.

Article 5.

The Honourable Company shall not demand any tribute from the country delivered over to Maha Rajah Rana Kerrut Sing.

Article 6.

In the event of any enemy of the Honourable Company evincing a disposition to attack the countries lately taken possession of by the Honourable Company in Hindostan, Maha Rajah Rana agrees to send the whole of his forces to their assistance, and to exert himself to the utmost of his power to repel the enemy, and to omit no opportunity of proving his friendship and attachment.

Article 7.

As, by the second article of the present Treaty, the Honourable Company becomes guarantee to Maha Rajah Rana for the security of his country against external enemies, Maha Rajah Rana hereby agrees that, if any misunderstanding should arise between him and the Sircar of any other chieftains, Maha Raja Rana will, in the first instance, submit the cause of dispute to the Company's Government, that the Government may endeavour to settle it amicably. If, from the obstinacy of the opposite party, no amicable terms can be settled, then Maha Raja Rana may employ the Honourable Company's troops, stationed for the protection of his country, against the opposite party.

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Article 8.

Although Maha Raja Rana retains the exclusive command of his own army, yet he hereby agrees to act, during the period of a war, in conformity to the advice and counsel of the commander of the Company's troops.

Article 9.

Maha Raja Rana shall not entertain in his service, or in any manner give admission to any English or French subjects, or any other persons from amongst the inhabitants of Europe, without the consent of the British Government.

The above Treaty, comprised in nine articles, has been duly concluded and confirmed, under the seal and signature of his Excellency General Gerard Lake, at Beanah, on the 17th day of January 1804 of the Christian era, corresponding with the 3d of Sowall 1218 Hegira, and with the 20th of Maugh 1860 Sumbut, and under the seal and signature of Maha Rajah Seway Rana Kerrut Sing, Luckinder Bahadoor, at Gwalior, on the 29th day of January 1804 of the Christian era, corresponding with the 15th of Sowall 1218 Hegira, and with the 3d Phagoon 1860 Sumbut.

When a Treaty, containing the above nine articles, shall be delivered to the Maha Raja Seway Rana Kerrut Sing Luckinder Bahadoor, under the seal and signature of his Excellency the Most Noble the Marquis Wellesley, Governor-General, in Council, the present Treaty, under the seal and signature of his Excellency General Gerard Lake, shall be returned.

Governor-General's Small Seal. *Rana's Seal.*

(Signed) WELLESLEY.
„ G. H. BARLOW.
„ G. UDNY.

Ratified by his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General, in Council, at Fort-William, in Bengal, this 2d March 1804. (Signed) A. B. EDMONSTONE.

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A British force was sent to receive over charge, from Ambujee Anglia, of the Fortress of Gwalior, under terms of his Treaty. On its arrival, however, it became apparent that Ambujee, acting under Scindiah's secret instructions, had only been deceiving the British Government in entering into the Treaty, with the view merely of gaining time and delaying the cession of Gwalior, for he refused to make over the fortress or fulfil the stipulations of the Treaty. The Governor-General was, however, not to be trifled with. By his instructions siege was immediately laid to the fortress, which was speedily taken, and the Treaty with Ambujee became thereby null and void. Ambujee fled to rejoin his master, Scindiah, by whom he was cordially received, and Gwalior and his ancient dominions of Gohud were made over to the Rana, who, under the terms of his Treaty, ceded the fortress to the British Government, by whom it was at once garrisoned.

Scindiah finding himself baffled in his attempts to evade compliance with the ninth article of the Treaty of Sirjee Argengaon, had the audacity again to renew his assertion that he never knew that the Gohud territory and the Fort of Gwalior were included in the territory to be ceded under that article, and that there was no such person as the Rana of Gohud with whom a Treaty could have been entered into by the British Government.* On the 22d February 1804, Sir John Malcolm, then Resident with Scindiah, reported to the Governor-General that, on renewal of these assertions, "he had deemed it necessary to point out to Scindiah's Ministers, which indeed was admitted by them, that the country of Gohud and Gwalior were expressly mentioned in the Treaty of Peace as ceded, and that the circumstances of the country of the Rana of Gohud being always mentioned in the Treaty with the countries of Jeypore and Jodhpore, and being taken along with the countries of these Chiefs to form a line or boundary between the two states, sufficiently

* Wellesley Papers, folio 13,424.

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showed the impression which existed in the Governor-General's mind at the time of Treaty, and that it would have been proper in the Ministers of Scindiah, if they meant to deny the existence of the Rana of Gohud, to have offered objections at that moment against the name of any such person standing in the Treaty; but the fact was, that as the country of Gohud (in whatever manner formerly held by Scindiah) could *not but be considered to come under the exception of the ninth article*, which expressly specified those countries which lay to its (Gohud's) south, it could never be claimed by the Maha Rajah, should it appear to have been guaranteed to any Rajah or other chief coming under the description of persons stated in the ninth article of the Treaty of Peace."

Again, on the 23d March 1804, the Agent, Sir John Malcolm, reported that he had received a copy of the Treaty "concluded with the Rana, and that he had informed Scindiah's Minister that he had received this Treaty since his last interview. By it the British Government had guaranteed to the Rana of Gohud the country of his ancestors, including the Fort of Gwalior, which the Rana had by the same Treaty ceded to the British Government; that the guarantee was made after the British Government had acquired a double right to the disposal of these countries—first, the right of conquest; second, that which they derived from a Treaty with Ambujee Anglia, by which they were ceded to its authority. That the subsequent breach of his engagement by Ambujee never could be considered to deprive the Company of any advantage which they were to derive from these engagements, far less occasion that Government to break a Treaty which it had entered into with another State on the confidence of Ambujee's faith. From such a state of facts the Ministers would observe that Maha Rajah Dowlut Rao Scindiah could have no right to either the restoration of Gwalior or Gohud under the stipulation of the Treaty of Peace. That the ground taken by them, that

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these places were within the exception of article nine of the Treaty, was quite untenable, as they must themselves admit. That the alienation of Gwalior and Gohud could not have been unexpected by them, as they both must recollect that at a conference with General Wellesley, the General, in answer to their expression of fear that these possessions would be alienated by the second article as being north of Jodhpore, had distinctly shown them that it was by the ninth article, and not *the second article, that these possessions were alienated.* That they then remained silent, and had deceived General Wellesley about the districts of Dholepore, Barree, and Rajah Kherah, assuring the General that these were insignificant places of no value, which was contrary to fact, and thus induced the General to allow Scindiah to retain them as his private property."

The policy pursued by the Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, respecting the Rana of Gohud, and the views entertained by his Excellency respecting these unfounded and unwarrantable claims of Scindiah to the province, and the decision arrived at thereon, are fully detailed in the following extracts from a despatch of the Governor-General to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors in London, dated the 2d March 1804. "The Rana of Gohud, although deprived by the treachery of the late Mahdajee Scindiah of his hereditary possessions, and destitute of power and resources, was believed to retain considerable influence with the tribe of Jāts, and to be anxious to obtain the support of the British Government. It was supposed that with the support of the British Government the Rana of Gohud would be able to raise a considerable force, which might assist in opposing the march of Scindiah into Hindostan, while the occupation of Gwalior by the British troops would enable us to maintain the Rana's authority in the country of Gohud, and would encourage the Jāts to assist their native chief in opposing the irruption of Scin-

* Wellesley Papers, British Museum, folio 13,428.

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diah's troops. In prosecution of these objects, the Governor-General in Council directed the Commander-in-chief, Lord Lake, to open a negotiation with the Rana of Gohud, and the Governor-General addressed a letter to the Rana inviting his co-operation. Full powers were granted to his Excellency Lord Lake, similar to those previously held in Western India by General Wellesley, and the Commander-in-chief was especially empowered to conclude an engagement with the Rana, on the principle of securing the entire extinction of Dowlut Rao Scindiah's authority and influence in the North-Western provinces of Hindostan, and of securing to the Rana the undisturbed possession of his hereditary dominions. The Governor-General in Council at the same time authorised an advance in money to the Rana, in order to enable him to collect his adherents. In forming this engagement with the Rana of Gohud, the Governor-General in Council directed the Commander-in-chief, Lord Lake, to communicate freely with General Wellesley, and to carry through the proposed arrangement in conjunction with him and with the Governor-General's Agent, Mr Mercer, in Bundelkund." Agreeably to these instructions, Mr Mercer opened a communication with the Rana of Gohud, under the immediate directions of the Commander-in-chief, for securing the co-operation of that chief with the British troops in expelling the Mahratta forces from the province of Gohud. The Rana assented with the utmost readiness to the propositions of the British Government, and having raised a body of troops by the aid of sums of money which the Commander-in-chief was authorised to advance for that purpose, the Rana was actively and successfully employed, during the whole course of the war, in opposing the troops of the enemy, and in performing the duties of a faithful ally of the British Government. The country of Gohud having been placed entirely at the disposal of the British Government by the Treaty with Rajah Ambujee, a Treaty was concluded on the 17th of January 1804, between

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the British Government and the Rana of Gohud, by which the British Government guaranteed to the Rana of Gohud the independent possession of the countries assigned to him, and the Rana agreed to subsidize a British force of three battalions of native infantry, and to pay a subsidy of nine lakhs of rupees. The fort and town of Gwalior was ceded by the Treaty to the British Government. The Governor-General being decidedly of opinion that the rights acquired by the British Government under the Treaties with Ambujee Anglia and the Rana of Gohud, were acknowledged and confirmed by the ninth article of the Treaty of Peace with Dowlut Rao Scindiah, and that no fair construction of that article could impose upon the British Government the necessity of foregoing the advantage which it derived from the Treaty with Ambujee, or would exonerate the British Government from the obligations of the engagement which it had contracted with the Rana of Gohud. Under the conviction of Ambujee's good faith, his lordship in Council issued instructions to the Commander-in-chief to prosecute the siege of Gwalior without interruption, and to proceed in the occupation of the territory which has been assigned to the Rana of Gohud by the Treaty with that chieftain." It has been related how Gwalior was taken and made over to the Rana.

It appears that the Governor-General, the Marquis Wellesley, in Council, was not quite satisfied that the Resident with Scindiah, Sir John Malcolm, had been sufficiently clear and decided in his intimations to Scindiah and his Ministers, that their pretensions to retain Gwalior and Gohud were distinctly in breach of the ninth article of the Treaty of Peace, and could not be listened to. Sir John Malcolm, in order to clear himself from this imputation, addressed the Governor-General in Council on the 4th May 1804,* stating that "of the object which your Excellency had in view at the commencement of the war relative to Gwalior and

* Wellesley Papers, folio 13,737, 4th May 1804, para. 8.

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Gohud, I was fully apprised from the tenor of your Excellency's despatch to General Wellesley of the 27th June 1803. In reply to Bappoo Wittul, I particularly reminded him that General Wellesley had remarked that the Maha Rajah Dowlut Rao Scindiah was liable to lose Gohud by the ninth article of the Treaty, and of his having refused to admit the river Chumbul as a boundary, or to insert anything in the Treaty which should tend to defeat the arrangements which might have been made by your Excellency with the Rana of Gohud. I have lost no opportunity of supporting and vindicating the rights of the British Government to contract and maintain the engagements which it has entered into with the Rana of Gohud. I shall in one or two days, I hope, be admitted to the honour of an interview with the Maha Rajah Dowlut Rao Scindiah,* when I shall give him a full statement in writing of the grounds on which is founded the right of the British Government to maintain the Treaty with the Rana of Gohud."

The Governor-General in Council never for a moment admitted the pretensions set up by Scindiah,† as is fully established by the fact that on the 2d March 1804, in forwarding *the ratified Treaty* to the Commander-in-chief, Lord Lake, for delivery to the Rana of Gohud, his Excellency stated—" Your Excellency has been apprised *of the decided opinion of the Governor-General in Council, that the terms of the late Treaty of Peace with Dowlut Rao Scindiah cannot be considered* to invalidate the engagements of the nature of those concluded by your Excellency with the Rana of Gohud, the tenor of these engagements being entirely approved by the Governor-General in Council."

The ratified Treaty‡ was accordingly made over in the most solemn manner to the Rana of Gohud by his Excellency the Commander-in-chief, Lord Lake, and thus the Rana was secured by the British Government in the possession of his Highness's hereditary possessions.

* 4th May 1804. † Wellesley Papers, folio 13,737.
‡ Wellesley Papers, folio 13,427, para. 8.

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The Resident with Scindiah, Sir John Malcolm, on 16th May 1804,* presented, as the final decision of the Governor-General in Council, and in order to put a final and complete stop to all further discussion on the part of Scindiah and his Ministers, respecting the Treaty concluded with his Highness the Rana of Gohud, the following declaration:—"The circumstances which led to the establishment of the right of the British Government to contract the Treaty with the Rana of Gohud are briefly these. After the fall of Agra, and the victory of Laswarree, the British army was actually moving towards Gohud and Gwalior, when Ambujee Anglia concluded a Treaty with the Commander-in-chief, Lord Lake, by which he, Ambujee, surrendered these forts and the surrounding country to the British Government, who must but for this have soon enjoyed them by the right of conquest. His Excellency, on this arrangement being settled, sent a detachment to take possession of Gwalior, and moved with the grand army in another direction. Previous to the conclusion of any engagement with Ambujee Anglia, the Rana of Gohud had been actively and successfully employed, at the head of a very considerable force, in expelling the troops of Ambujee Anglia from the territory of Gohud, and no force belonging to Ambujee remained in that territory (excepting in Gwalior), capable of resisting in any degree the complete and immediate possession of it by the British troops. It is manifest, therefore, that if the country of Gohud (including the Fort of Gwalior), had not been ceded by the Treaty with Ambujee, it must have been completely conquered by the British arms. Immediately after it was ceded by Ambujee, a Treaty was negotiated *with the Rana of Gohud, the heir of the territory, to whom those possessions had formerly belonged;* and by that Treaty the territories of Gohud (including Gwalior) were guaranteed to him by the British Government, with whom he entered into a subsidiary engagement, *which imposed obligations on the British*

* 16th May 1804.

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Government to protect him against all enemies whatsoever. Ambujee Anglia violated the Treaty, but it is evident that it would be in opposition to every principle of justice and public law, if that chief should profit by the effects of his own treachery, *nor was the British Government at liberty to retract that faith which it had so solemnly pledged, on the credit* of Ambujee's adherence to his engagements, to the Rana of Gohud. This state of facts existed before the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace with Scindiah; and the country ceded by Ambujee, and since granted to the Rana of Gohud, is not comprehended in that description of territory *which is excluded* from the operation of the ninth article of the Treaty of Peace. But independently of any right to the disposal of this territory founded on an engagement with Ambujee, the Governor-General in Council is decidedly of opinion that the Treaty concluded with the Rana of Gohud is comprehended in that description of engagements, for the confirmation of which the ninth article of the Treaty of Peace provided. That Treaty stipulated for the cession of all the Maha Rajah Dowlut Rao Scindiah's possessions north of Jeypore and Jodhpore, *and of the country of the Rana of Gohud,* and for the confirmation of such Treaties as might have been made with Rajahs and others, provided these Treaties did not alienate from Dowlut Rao Scindiah any of his personal possessions south of Jeypore and the country of Gohud. It was therefore plain that whatever of Dowlut Rao Scindiah's former possessions were north of those countries now belonged to the British Government, and whatever was to the south of these countries belonged to the Maha Rajah Dowlut Rao Scindiah. With reference to these countries themselves the Maha Rajah Dowlut Rao Scindiah was bound to confirm all Treaties which might have been made respecting them. If any of them was alienated by Treaty he was bound to confirm such alienation, as the very stipulation of the ninth article of the Treaty, which provided for the restoration of such of Dowlut Rao Scindiah's personal possessions as were

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south of Jodhpore, Jeypore, and Gohud, implied that such countries were, under the stipulation of that article, to be confirmed in the possession of those to whom they had been granted, situated in any other quarter. The person with whom the British Government concluded the engagement, *as the legitimate Rana of Gohud, is acknowledged to be the lineal descendant of the ancient Ranas.* Under the promise of an ample provision from the British Government, this chief, at the commencement of the war, raised a considerable body of troops, with which he successfully opposed the troops of Ambujee, and *he has actively and usefully co-operated with the British troops during the whole course of the war. The countries of which that chief has possession were in the possession of his ancestors,** and are most certainly those which are meant by the country of the Rana of Gohud in the Treaty of Peace. It is plain that at the time of the negotiation of the Treaty of Peace, Major-General Wellesley and the Vakeels of Scindiah were fully aware of the extent to which the stipulation of the ninth article of the Treaty of Peace might eventually operate. Major-General Wellesley distinctly declared to the Vakeels that engagements which the Commander-in-chief, Lord Lake, might have concluded with any chief in Hindostan, *and particularly with the Rana of Gohud, must be confirmed by the ninth article of the Treaty of Peace.* And Major-General Wellesley positively refused to insert anything in the Treaty which should tend to defeat the arrangements which might have been made by General Lake with the Rajah of Jeypore, *the Rana of Gohud,* and others. The several declarations, therefore, of Major-General Wellesley, *far from affecting the operations of that article with respect to the territories guaranteed to the Rana of Gohud, confirmed it in the most positive terms.*" Upon this clear statement of the meaning and intentions of the ninth article of the Treaty of Peace, the Resident then required from the Maha Rajah Dowlut Rao Scindiah a

* Wellesley Papers, folio 13,427, page 141, in British Museum.

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recognition of that Treaty, as well as of the others which the British Government had concluded with the Rajahs of Jeypore, Jodhpore, *and the Rana of Gohud,* in conformity with the ninth article of the said Treaty of Peace, and the Resident declared that until *that* recognition is agreed by Dowlut Rao Scindiah, his Excellency the Governor-General in Council cannot consider the said Treaty of Peace to have been concluded on the part of Dowlut Rao Scindiah." A few days subsequent to the delivery of this written declaration to Dowlut Rao Scindiah by Sir John Malcolm, the Resident, that officer was succeeded in his office by Mr Webb, who, on the 21st of May 1804,* reported to the Governor-General in Council his first interview, on taking charge of his office, with the Ministers of Dowlut Rao Scindiah. "I observed (Mr Webb reported) to Scindiah's Ministers that with regard to Gohud I considered the declaration delivered by Sir John Malcolm to the Durbar to have finally disposed of that question, and that I could not, consistently with your Excellency's instructions, entertain it again. Sir John Malcolm, who was present, took occasion to express his surprise at the revival of the subject after the communication he had already made on the subject. I then expressed to the Ministers my hope that the Maha Rajah Dowlut Rao Scindiah would give a final and explicit declaration of his relinquishment of the claim which he had hitherto maintained to the Fort of Gwalior and territory of Gohud. *The Minister, Wittul Punt, replied, without hesitation, that the claim was entirely abandoned; and on my repeating my wish to be enabled to make a final report of the adjustment of this question to your Excellency, the Minister authorised me, in the most unequivocal manner, to assure your Excellency that the claim had been completely relinquished by the Maha Rajah Dowlut Rao Scindiah.* I expressed to the Minister the pleasure I had derived from this declaration, together with the confidence I felt of the

* Wellesley Papers, folio 13,427, British Museum, 21st May 1804.

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satisfaction with which it would be received by your Lordship. I then proposed that the list of Treaties which had been received by Sir John Malcolm, the Treaties with Jeypore, Jodhpore, and the Rana of Gohud, should be presented to the Maha Rajah Dowlut Rao Scindiah without further delay; and I am happy to inform your Excellency that the Minister, Wittul Punt, acquiesced in the proposition without any hesitation or difficulty. The Minister further agreed that the list should be immediately received by the Maha Rajah in Durbar. Wittul Punt then retired to the tent of the Maha Rajah, for the purpose of explaining to Dowlut Rao Scindiah the course and termination of the conference. Upon his return, the Minister informed me that the *Maha Rajah had entirely acquiesced in the mode proposed by us* for the adjustment of the several points stated in this despatch, and that the Maha Rajah was ready to receive in Durbar the list of Treaties, those concluded with the Rajahs of Jodhpore and Jeypore, and the Rana of Gohud. We (Mr Webb and Sir John Malcolm) accordingly returned to the public Durbar, and the Maha Rajah Dowlut Rao Scindiah* having soon after taken his seat on the Musnud, I delivered to him, and the Maha Rajah received, in a formal manner, a list of the Treaties under the signature of your Excellency in Council, in conformity with the ninth article of the Treaty of Peace. After the list of Treaties had been delivered to Dowlut Rao Scindiah he presented to Sir John Malcolm and to his suite, the usual jewels and dresses upon the occasion of his departure, and the Durbar broke up. I think it expedient to add, for your Excellency's information, that this morning (21st May 1804) the Minister, Wittul Punt, visited me, and took occasion of adverting to the conference of last night, and of conveying to me assurances of his sincere and cordial disposition to cultivate the alliance now happily concluded with the British Government." From these extracts from

* Wellesley Papers, folio 13,427, page 162. Camp Borranpore, 21st May 1804.

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official State Papers, it is proved beyond all doubt that Dowlut Rao Scindiah possessed no right or title whatever to the territory of the Rana of Gohud; and that he formally and solemnly recognised and ratified the arrangement under which these territories reverted, under Treaty with the British Government, to their hereditary possessor the Rana of Gohud. But notwithstanding his solemn ratification of the Treaty of Peace, and his acceptance, under the ninth article of the same, of the Treaty entered into between the Rana of Gohud and the British Government, and notwithstanding his professions of amity to the British Government, Scindiah most faithlessly commenced to conspire with Holkar against them. Upon the 13th March 1805, Scindiah's hostile intentions became known to the British Government, and the Governor-General in Council addressed a despatch to the Commander-in-chief, Lord Lake,* stating that Scindiah is greatly disturbed at the loss of Gwalior and Gohud, which he contends, *most falsely*, were not ceded by the Treaty of Peace.† He is probably before this time at Nurwar with an army. He asserts several claims under the Treaty of Peace, and perhaps he may take up a position on the frontier and require satisfaction of these claims, or he may invade Gohud and other parts of our territory, or that of our allies, and may justify this invasion under pretence of these claims. He may attempt to seize Gwalior or Gohud. It is very desirable to avoid war with Scindiah, but if he should attack any part of our territory, or those of our allies, a vigorous movement against him would probably induce most of his people to desert him. If he should demand Gwalior‡ or Gohud, or make any hostile demand, your Lordship will move an adequate force against him without delay. Scindiah's object may be merely to plunder Ambujee, who had two crores deposited in "Kotah;" but I much fear it is the recovery of his power in Hindostan, and in that case every

* Wellesley Papers, folio 13,739. † 29th March 1805.

‡ Wellesley Papers, folio 13,739, 29th March 1805.

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effort of your Lordship's skill and energy will be required to meet the accumulation of misfortunes." In reply* to the Governor-General in Council, the Commander-in-chief, Lord Lake, upon the 23d June 1805, stated his opinion that however disposed the Governor-General in Council might feel to make every arrangement his Excellency could, *consistent with pledged faith*, to preserve the peace and conciliate the Government of Dowlut Rao Scindiah, it would be impossible to admit any negotiations whatever on such points as his claims to Gwalior and Gohud, which could only tend to generate further demands of an equally unreasonable nature." Such were the views of the Governor-General in Council† and of the Commander-in-chief respecting the untenable and preposterous nature of Scindiah's claims to possess Gwalior and Gohud. "There can be no doubt that had the Marquis of Wellesley‡ continued as Governor-General that he would have been able to coerce Scindiah, and secure a long if not a permanent peace, without renouncing any of the advantages his policy had secured by his successful negotiations and the victories of the British forces, and the Rana of Gohud would have remained in unmolested possession of his Highness's hereditary possessions, secured to him by solemn treaties and the good faith of the British Government." Unfortunately for the Rana, Lord Wellesley was, on the 30th July 1805—that is, six weeks after the date of the Commander-in-chief's despatch of the 23d June 1804—succeeded by the Marquis of Cornwallis as Governor-General. At this time Scindiah openly broke the Treaty of Peace, and joined Holkar and the Rajah of Bhurtphore in hostility to the British Government. Scindiah first caused the camp of the British Envoy, Mr Jenkins, to be plundered, and then placed the Agent under restraint. Lord Lake, the Commander-in-chief, threatened to commence hostilities with Scindiah, and this threat would have probably proved

* Wellesley Papers, folio 13,426, para. 8, 23d June 1805.

† Lord Wellesley. ‡ Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas.

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sufficient to induce him to retreat to Oojein, and to release the British Resident. But Lord Cornwallis, being seriously alarmed by the successes of Holkar and the reverses the British army had received in Colonel Manson's retreat and before Bhurtphore, determined to conciliate Scindiah, and to overlook the Maha Rajah's scandalous breach of the Treaty of Peace, and the outrage on the law of nations he had been guilty of, by first plundering the camp and then imprisoning the British Resident at his Court. With this view Lord Cornwallis, without regarding the protests of the faithful ally of the British Government, the Rana of Gohud, who was too weak to oppose the will of the Governor-General, determined to cancel the solemn Treaty entered into by his predecessor, the Marquis of Wellesley, in Council, with the Rana, and to make over that chief's hereditary possessions, thereby secured to his Highness, to the Maha Rajah Dowlut Rao Scindiah. "So great eagerness was evinced by the Governor-General* to accommodate the differences with Scindiah, that had the power of that chief not been completely broken, it would probably have ensured a prolongation of hostility with all the energy and activity of the Mahrattas." The ostensible reason given for this breach of public faith was, "that the continuance of the Treaty was inconvenient to the British Government, and that the Rana was totally unfit for the exercise of sovereign authority."

Upon the 19th September 1805, the Governor-General communicated his decision to the Commander-in-chief, who in reply urged, without effect, "that the honour of the British Government was pledged to respect the alliance with the Rana of Gohud, as well as those formed with the Rajahs of Jodhpore and Jeypore, and that the British Government could not, without a breach of public faith, cancel or modify any part of these engagements, without the consent of the other contracting party." Before this remonstrance reached

* Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas.

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the Government, Lord Cornwallis had died at Ghazeepore on the 5th October 1805. *It is now known* that it was when "his Lordship was in a state of mental and physical debility* that he composed and signed the despatch of the 19th Sept., ordering a sudden revolution in the policy of a great empire, and when his Lordship was not in a condition to comprehend the scope and consequences of the measure he directed. A week after its despatch his Lordship was unconscious of what was passing around him, and died on the 5th October. Had Lord Cornwallis been in the full vigour of his faculties, and had his Lordship enjoyed an opportunity of intercourse with the Commander-in-chief, Lord Lake, the Governor-General would have modified the measures which, under the influence of alarm, he so imprudently urged forward." Lord Cornwallis was succeeded by an Acting-Governor-General, Sir George Barlow, who, in reply to Lord Lake's remonstrance, declared his determination to adhere to Lord Cornwallis's policy, to dissolve the alliance entered into with the Rana of Gohud, and to accommodate matters with Scindiah by offering to make over to him the Fortress of Gwalior and the territories which, under Lord Wellesley's Treaty, were restored to the Rana of Gohud, being his hereditary kingdom.

Accordingly, Lord Lake entered into communication with Scindiah, which resulted in the conclusion of a new Treaty, dated the 5th November 1805, under which, *as a matter of friendship*, Gwalior and Gohud with its districts were made over to Scindiah. In order to induce the acting Governor-General to accede to his wishes, Scindiah offered to cede the districts of Dholepore, Bharee, and Rajah Kerrah, held by him under the seventh article of the Treaty of Peace, in order that these districts might be made over to the Rana as a separate principality in lieu of his ancient hereditary kingdom, which was to be wrested from him and made over to Scindiah. It will be remembered that Sir John Malcolm,

* Marshman's History of India, Vol. II.

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the Agent at Scindiah's court, had long ere this brought to the notice of Lord Wellesley the treacherous conduct pursued by Scindiah in respect to these districts, at the time the Treaty of Peace was concluded. "By falsely representing Dholepore, Bharee, and Rajah Kherrah as ancient possessions of his family, received from a former Emperor of Delhi, Scindiah had induced the Duke of Wellington to allow him to retain them." He thus succeeded, contrary to the terms and spirit of the Treaty, in retaining a footing in Hindostan, and thereby maintaining a position from which he could carry out his cherished scheme of getting possession of Gwalior and the Gohud territory. Scindiah could always find a pretext for advancing his troops into these retained districts, and thus secured a base from which to carry on his ambitious designs in that quarter. By the cession now proposed, and which was eagerly accepted by the Acting-Governor-General, Scindiah's deep laid scheme, by which he had circumvented and deceived such far-seeing and able statesmen as the Marquis of Wellesley and the Duke of Wellington, was crowned with success. The Rana of Gohud, contrary to his solemn protest, was forced to sign a Treaty on the 8th March 1805, by which he was deprived of his hereditary dominions, which were conferred on his hereditary enemy, Scindiah, and he was compelled to receive in lieu thereof the districts of Dholepore, &c., being subjected thereby, not only to the degradation of losing his hereditary dominions, but also to an annual loss in revenue of thirty-four lakhs of rupees. The exchange was considered to be highly advantageous to the British Government, as Scindiah bound himself, if the arrangement was completed, to abandon his claim against the British Government under the Treaty of Peace, for fifteen lakhs per annum.

It was in vain that the Rana endeavoured to avert this great calamity, the confiscation of his ancestral territories, by pleading the solemn nature of the existing Treaty, under the faith of which his Highness had compromised himself, by

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opposing with his troops in the field the common enemy the Mahrattas; fulfilling, according to the recorded testimony of the Governor-General, the Marquis of Wellesley, "at a most trying and critical time, all the obligations of a faithful ally of the British Government," up to the date of the resignation of his Government by Lord Wellesley.

The Rana had, in the estimation of Lord Wellesley, thus fully established his capacity successfully to administer his own territory, and also to fulfil all the duties of an ally; and it was a mere pretext and subterfuge for the succeeding Government, only a few months subsequent to the resignation of the Marquis of Wellesley, to abrogate the Treaty with the Rana, on the false and unfounded assertion "of his incapacity as a ruler—an assertion which, if true, would have equally disqualified his Highness from exercising sovereign power in the new principality of Dholepore and Barree, made over to him by the British Government, in lieu of Gohud. His Highness further protested against the new Treaty, on the ground of the very serious loss of revenue, amounting to no less than thirty-four lakhs per annum, which it would involve. But all his protestations were unavailing, and this brave and faithful ally of the British Government became a victim to the policy which was subsequently characterised by the Acting Governor-General, Lord Metcalf, as "disgrace without compensation, Treaties without security, and peace without tranquillity."

Maha Rana Kheerut Singh never ceased to protest against this breach of public faith and of the sanctity of Treaties, by which he had been driven from his hereditary principality, and, on his death, he left it as a solemn injunction to his successor, the present Rana Bhugwunth Sing, Buhadoor, G.C.S.I., that, whilst he should never fail in his obligations as a faithful ally of the British Government, his Highness, at the sametime, should never cease, by the use of all legitimate means, and on every fitting occasion, to urge on the paramount power the justice of abrogating an arrangement into

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which he had been forced in direct violation of existing Treaties; and in a manner totally subversive of the rights of allies of the British Government. Accordingly, Rana Bhugwunth Singh took occasion of the new Treaties being formed with Gwalior in 1843 to prefer his claims for the restoration of his hereditary dominions secured to his Highness by the Treaties of 1779 and 1804. The Rana had earned the respect and deep gratitude of the British Government at this time by heartily and zealously co-operating with the British army in the field, with all his available troops, and there is every reason, from the sentiments subsequently expressed by his Lordship, to believe, that had the history of Gohud, as detailed in these pages, been known to the Governor-General, the Earl of Ellenborough, then at Gwalior, the claims of the Rana would have met with the consideration they desired. But, unfortunately, the early records in the Foreign Department of the Government of India were at this time very little known, and as no compilation of Treaties, such as are now available, then existed, the early history of Gohud and its connection with the British Government was totally unknown. In illustration of the very deficient information then possessed by the Government respecting its relations with Foreign States, it may be here stated, that it was from a printed work on the history of the Mahrattas, casually found in the China Bazaar at Calcutta, and brought to the notice of Lord Ellenborough, that his Excellency derived the information on which he based the policy pursued in respect to Scindiah after the battle of Maharajpore in 1843. The State papers and records of the Gohud State had been all destroyed in the long wars with the Mahrattas, and the Maha Rana was unable to produce any documents to illustrate or establish his claim, and so this favourable opportunity was lost. It is indeed only now that the Maha Rana has been able to procure, from official State papers now open to the public, the information embodied in this history. The facts

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now related, clearly and conclusively prove that the kingdom of Gohud formed the ancient hereditary state of the Maha Rana's ancestors, that it was more than once wrested from them by the Mahrattas, and recovered by the Maha Rana's predecessors by force of arms and the aid of British troops, and that on two separate occasions, 1779 and 1804, the possession of these territories was confirmed to the then reigning Maha Rana by solemn Treaties entered into by the British Government with the present Rana's predecessors. It has been shown that the Treaty of 1779, which apparently was not known to the Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, has never to this day been either abrogated or annulled in any formal or legal manner. It accordingly becomes a question whether, according to the established law of nations, this Treaty is not to be regarded as still in force. It is an admitted and well known principle of public law, which has been enunciated afresh by the Conference lately sitting in London on the "Black Sea" question, and to which principle all the Powers of Europe have given their assent, "that the obligations of Treaties cannot be repudiated at pleasure, and that no one Power can release itself from the engagements of a Treaty or modify its stipulations save with the consent of the contracting parties, and that this absolutely binding character of Treaty obligations *applies to all such engagements, however old they may be.*"

The Treaty of 1804 makes no mention of the Treaty of 1779, but may be considered as affirmative and declaratory of the same, as by the second article the possession of Gohud and its dependencies to the Rana *is confirmed*, which possession was secured to the Rana already by the eighth article of the Treaty of 1779. The Treaty of 1806, which Rana Keerut Singh was compelled, against his solemn protest, to sign, while it had the effect of saving to the British Government an annual expenditure of fifteen lakhs of rupees, payable to dependants of Scindiah, under the terms of the seventh article of the Treaty of Peace, involved the loss to

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the Rana of his ancient hereditary dominions, which had remained in his family for several hundred years, and also the loss of an annual revenue of thirty-four lakhs. From these facts the unfair and compulsory nature of the Treaty is clearly established, and also its illegality under the fixed and uniformly recognised doctrine of international public law, "that no Power can be allowed to withdraw from the definite and clearly valid obligations of a Treaty at her own arbitrary discretion, or otherwise than by an amicable understanding." It is only necessary to refer to the State papers mentioned in this memorandum to disprove the assertion of the Rana's incapacity for government, which formed the ostensible ground for wresting his kingdom from him, and bestowing it on Scindiah. Had the Rana failed to fulfil the terms of the Treaty of 1779, the Governor-General, Warren Hastings, would have seized the opportunity of abrogating it; but this he found it beyond even his power to do, unscrupulous although he was, with any regard to public faith. Again, had the Rana failed to act up to the obligations of the Treaty of 1804, *which he never did*, the third article of that Treaty provided the course to be followed on such a contingency occurring, and its provisions should have been had recourse to, instead of tyrannically and unjustly wresting, by the exercise of its superior power, the Rana's hereditary dominions from him, and forcing him to agree to a new engagement which was destructive of his ancient* hereditary rights. Had that illustrious nobleman, the Marquis of Wellesley, continued only a few weeks longer at the head of the Government, it is admitted that Gohud and its dependencies would have remained in Rana Keerut Singh's† undisturbed possession, "*who was fully able to conduct the administration, and that all Scindiah's designs would have been baffled.*" The cotemporary Treaties of 1804 with Jodhpore and Jeypore were, it will be remembered, cancelled at the same time

* Grant Duft's History of the Mahrattas.

† Colonel Sutherland's Sketches.

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as that with the Maha Rana of 1804 was abrogated. The British Government, however, in 1818, reversed and repudiated as unjust and unbecoming the policy of 1806, and revised the Treaties with Jodhpore and Jeypore. No such generous policy has, however, been, up to this date, followed by the British Government in the case of the Maha Ranas of Gohud, who were among the earliest, as they have been uniformly the most faithful and devoted, allies of the British Government in Hindostan for a period of nearly one hundred years.

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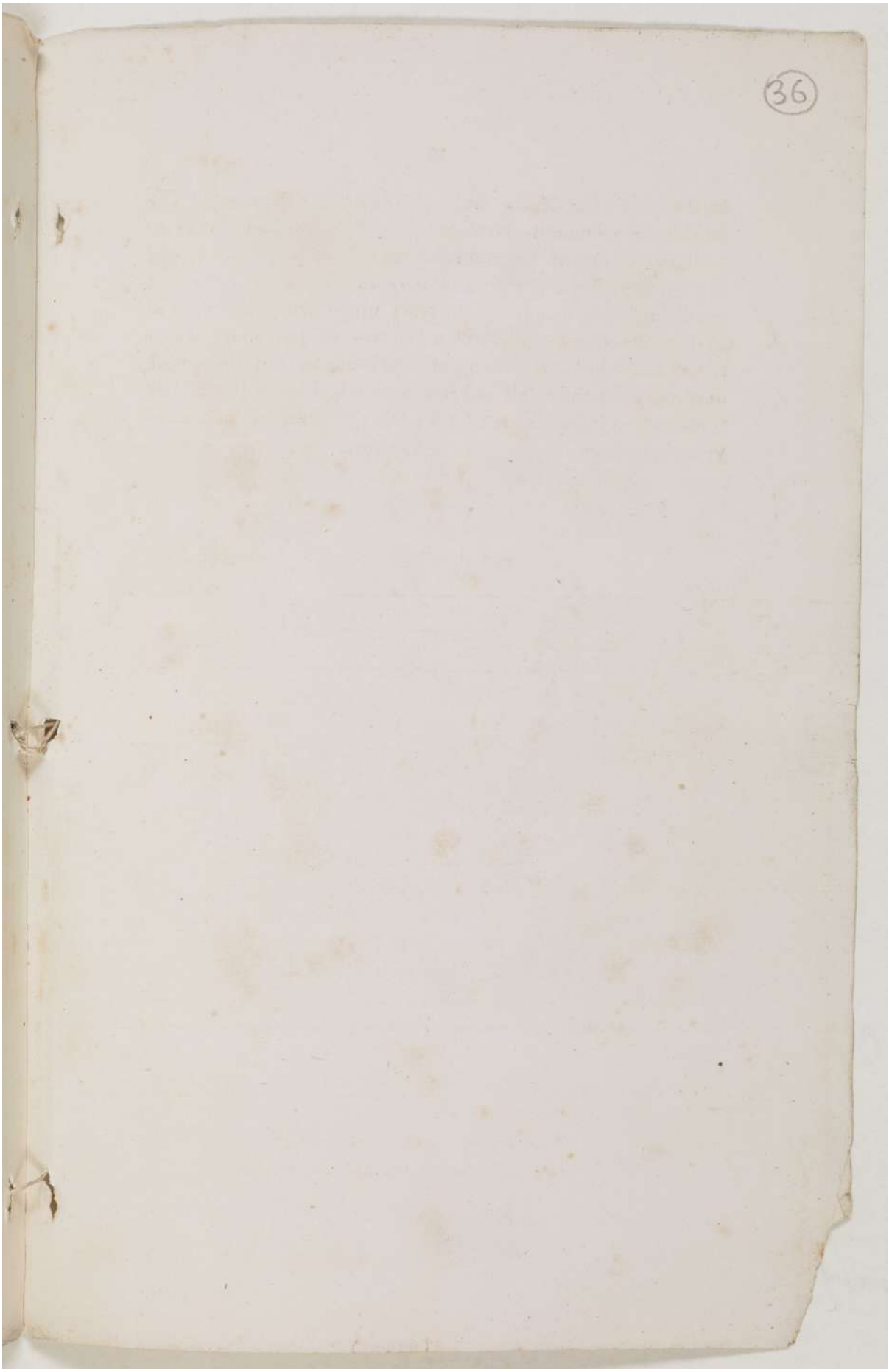

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